

FOIPA COVER SHEET

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS**

SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)

BLACK EXTREMIST

100-448006

SECTION 20



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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RECEIVED IN ENVELOPE

8-24-70

Airtel

EX-100

1 -
1 -

To: SAC, Charlotte (157-6109)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1921

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ReCEairtel to Bureau 8-14-70.

Authority to prepare and mail anonymous letter is denied. This action could prompt [redacted] and his associates to violently resist arrest by police in the future.

The aggressive action in your counterintelligence program to disrupt the BPP in Winston-Salem is noteworthy and you should continue to capitalize on each and every incident to drive a wedge between the BPP and the local Negro residents.

1 - San Francisco

JOI:bad (6)

NOTE:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Charlotte has previously mailed 100 copies of a leaflet belittling the present leadership of the BPP at Winston-Salem. The copies were mailed to appropriate residents in the Negro community. Informants have indicated a dissension between the BPP group in Winston-Salem and one of their leaders

6 AUG 31 1970

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

6 AUG 31 1970

AUG 31 1970 TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to SAC, Charlotte
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

[REDACTED] for disorderly conduct in Winston-Salem and released on bond. He appeared in court on 8-12 and charges against him were nol prossed since witnesses failed to appear. Charlotte desires to mail an anonymous bulletin entitled "News of Interest to the Black Citizens in Winston-Salem" indicating [REDACTED] for disorderly conduct without resistance on his part. He did not defend one of the sisters who was slapped as she bit a pig. The letter would indicate that Little, as the big Panther pig-hater, did not defend the sister and when he appeared in court he was released without any difficulty. One Charlotte informant has indicated there is some discussion about the fact [REDACTED] did not resist arrest since he has previously stated that all Panthers should physically resist arrest.

FBI

Date: 8/14/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109) - (P)

C COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau, 7/31/70.

Referenced airtel pertained to a counterintelligence mailing made under the name of the S.V.R.P., 7/29/70, at Winston-Salem, N. C. Comment from informants indicates that there continues to be dissension between the BPP group at Winston-Salem and [REDACTED] has not determined who is writing the letters referred to above.

More and more members drop out due to dissatisfaction, however, it cannot be positively ascertained that these letters are the cause [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It is noted that they are mailed to addresses in the vicinity of the BPP headquarters. In this connection it is noted that six individuals, including [REDACTED] were arrested on 7/28/70 for disorderly conduct and released on bond.

[REDACTED] and charges against him were not pressed with leave to reinstate due to failure of prosecution witnesses to appear. In all likelihood these charges will be, in fact, instituted at a later date and [REDACTED] however, in the interim Charlotte

- ② - Bureau (RM) **BEG-13**
 1 - San Francisco (RM)
 2 - Charlotte **A-118**

THG:dh
 (5)

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 OTHERWISE.

Approved: [Signature]
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

RACIAL SECT

FBI

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
CE 157-6109 (Priority)

desires to put out an additional issue which is to be Volume 1, Issue #3, of the "News of Interest to the Black Citizens of Winston-Salem" which letter would be prepared in the manner of the previous issues with the caption in large letters "Bulletin" and the body as follows:

The SVRP noted the arrest of [REDACTED] July 28, 1970, for disorderly conduct. This appeared to be somewhat odd as it was our information that [REDACTED] and his associates were the ones who had the crowd gathered to yell at the pigs as they arrived. [REDACTED] was arrested, booked, and released without resistance on his part. This really looked odd since [REDACTED] as the big Panther pig-hater did not defend one of the sisters or himself when the sister was slapped as she bit a pig. The crowning touch came when [REDACTED] appeared in court on August 12 and was released.

Is it possible that we have a pig among us inside SVRP, Winston-Salem, North Carolina?

It is hoped that the above letter will implant the idea that [REDACTED] is possibly an informant or in some way received favored treatment from the Winston-Salem PD. [REDACTED] is not known to be an informant of the PD and according to [REDACTED] LITTLE did not resist arrest or take other action as he has called for the other Panthers to do in the past.

The Bureau is requested to expeditiously authorize this counterintelligence operation and upon approval, Charlotte will mail it to addresses in the vicinity of RPP headquarters at Winston-Salem, N. C. The newspaper will be reproduced on unwatermarked paper and sent out in plain envelopes with stamps attached and not franked.

2

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8/19/70

FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (100-16921) (P*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (VISUAL AIDS)

Re Bu airtel, 4/24/69.

The Cincinnati Division has no photographs of scenes of racial violence at this time.

All Agents of this division have been alerted to submit any photographs falling within this category to the Bureau on a continuing basis.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Cincinnati

BCK/dms
(4)

EX-116

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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OTHERWISE



5010-108-01

376
50 AUG 28 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ROULE IN ENVELOPE

8/21/70

SAC, Chicago (157-2209)

Director, FBI (100-448006)

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReCGairtel 8/19/70 captioned "Black Panther Party - BPP" wherein information was set forth that [REDACTED] Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP), had received a telegram from Jesse L. Jackson regarding the release of Huey P. Newton from prison, stating that: "We now join hands and lock arms to make his cause known throughout this Nation. Let us know if there is anything we can do to assist you." As you are aware, Jackson spoke at the BPP-sponsored conference against fascism in Oakland, California, last summer. He has also publicly condemned the imprisonment of BPP leader, Bobby Seale, on contempt of court charges during the trial of the Chicago Eight. Further, Jackson delivered a eulogy at the funeral service for Fred Hampton on 12/9/69.

From the above, it is apparent that Jackson is attempting to gain some type of comradery with the BPP, specifically the Illinois Chapter. In view of this, Chicago should therefore be alert for any situation that it might be able to exploit through counterintelligence techniques in order to neutralize Jackson's position in relation to the BPP.

REC-42

CEE:acs/cac 100
(6)

EX-117

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO AUG 21 1970

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Rm.
Holmes
Gandy

MAILED 20
AUG 31 1970
COMM-FBI

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MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

AUG 31 1970

Letter to Chicago
Re: Counterintelligence Program
Black Nationalist - Hate Group
100-448006

NOTE:

Jesse Jackson is the national director of operation Breadbasket, a branch of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He recently appears to have taken a more extreme position with regard to racial matters and appears to be attempting to develop some type of relationship with the Black Panther Party. Chicago being instructed to remain alert for counterintelligence techniques in order to neutralize any relationship Jackson might develop with the Black Panther Party.

all

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 8/19/70

ReNYlet to Bureau 5/21/70.

1. Operations Under Consideration

The NYO realizes that one of the most effective Black Nationalist propaganda operations is the sale and distribution of the BPP newspaper, "The Black Panther" in the New York City area.

In line with the above statement the NYO is considering counterintelligence proposals which would be directed against (1) the production of the BPP newspaper; (2) the distribution of that newspaper and (3) the use of information contained in particular issues for topical counterintelligence proposals.

The NYO realizes the importance of negating the financial benefits coming to the BPP through the sale of their newspaper. Continued efforts will be made to derive logical and practical plans to thwart this crucial BPP operation.

2. Operations Being Submitted

On 6/12/70, an anonymous letter was sent to BPP Headquarters in New York City, which indicated that [REDACTED] a BPP member from New Haven, Connecticut, was dissatisfied with his assignment within the BPP.

On 6/22/70, an anonymous note with an enclosed xerox copy of an article entitled "Four Pigs Were Offed This Week.....A Victory For The People", which appeared in "The Black Panther" on 4/11/70, was mailed to [REDACTED] an individual who has aided the BPP in the past.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York

REC-32

SEP 1 1970
(3)

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Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

AUG 20 1970

REC'D INT. SECT.



NY 100-161140

On 6/19/70, data was discreetly furnished to [redacted] of Associated Press, New York City, highlighting the friction between East and West Coast BPP leadership personnel.

On 6/26/70, two anonymous letters were prepared by the NYO for mailing from Atlanta, Georgia. The purpose of these letters was to neutralize attempts by SNCC to obtain funds from the Episcopal Church in New York City.

On 7/14/70, the NYO submitted to the Bureau counterintelligence suggestions concerning a Bureau proposal designed to cause conflict between the NOI and the BPP over the sale of their respective newspapers.

On 7/23/70, two anonymous letters were prepared by the NYO for mailing from the Atlanta and Knoxville Offices to be sent to the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizing (IFCO) in New York City. These letters were designed to negate SNCC's attempt to obtain a grant from IFCO to further SNCC's aims.

On 8/11/70, three proposals concerned with the effect of the return of BPP leader HUEY P. NEWTON on the operations of the BPP were submitted and the NYO is awaiting the Bureau's decision on this matter as to whether or not they are of sufficient merit to warrant implementation.

3. Tangible Results

[redacted]

In view of the above actions by IFCO and the Episcopal Church in delaying or refusing monies to SNCC it is felt that the counterintelligence measures of the NYO have produced tangible results.

NY 100-161140

4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interests

With the return of HUEY P. NEWTON to an active role in the conduct of BPP matters it appears that there is the possibility of exploiting the feelings of those BPP members who will now be put in a lesser position within that organization.

Questions will arise as to source of monies used to raise NEWTON's bail as well as with the apparent ease it was raised. These questions will be the source of future counterintelligence proposals by the NYO.

The NYO will immediately inform the Bureau of any situations or developments that occur where counterintelligence techniques may be used.

No action will be taken on any counterintelligence proposals without prior Bureau approval.

RO. IN ENVELO

8/19/70

Airtel

- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - Philadelphia
Field Guidance
- 1 - [REDACTED]

To: SACs, Philadelphia (157-2371)
San Francisco EX 106

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 112-1

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

RePHairtel 8/13/70.

Philadelphia authorized to make anonymous mailing to Huey Newton of fictitious directive mentioned in reairtel, insuring that it cannot be traced to the Bureau. San Francisco and Philadelphia advise Bureau of any tangible results.

As San Francisco is aware, the Philadelphia Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) has been criticized by the national office already because of the way the chapter is being run. Philadelphia has prepared a fictitious directive regarding organizing for the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, 9/5-7/70 at Philadelphia. The directive broadly hints that Huey Newton is useful only as a drawing card. Philadelphia is to mail the directive anonymously and personally to Newton at natinal BPP headquarters with a short note indicating the writer is incensed over the suggestion that Newton is being used by the BPP.

MAILED 2
AUG 19 1970
COMM-FBI

CEG: fb
(8)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Cannon, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

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97 SEP 2 1970

TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to SACs, Philadelphia
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-448006

For Philadelphia's guidance in the future, when the subject of another office is involved in a counterintelligence operation the views of that office should be obtained. Copies of reairtel should have been furnished to San Francisco for its observations.

NOTE:

Newton has just been released from prison and is anxious to re-establish his control of the BPP. The Philadelphia BPP has been criticized by the BPP national office possibly because of a prior counterintelligence operation which anonymously advised the national headquarters that food, clothing and drugs collected for BPP community programs were being stolen by BPP members. Members have been transferred because of this situation and the national office has even considered closing the Philadelphia Chapter. We want to keep this dissension going where we have uncovered a weakness in Philadelphia.

F B I

Date: 8/13/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
 FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (157-2371)
 SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY
 RM

Re Bureau tel 8/6/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two documents, the first a BPP office directive to Community Workers, the second a copy of a BPP form soliciting housing for the forthcoming Plenary Session of the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention (RPCC), 9/5 - 7/70, at Philadelphia.

The following counterintelligence suggestion is submitted for the Bureau's consideration in response to referenced Butel:

[REDACTED]

The second document is a fictitious directive by the BPP to all Community Workers explaining their task and the importance of making the RPCC a success. As noted, the

2 - Bureau (100-448006) (Encls. - 2) (Registered Mail)
 2 - Philadelphia (157-2371)

TDD/kgg
 (4)

REC-2
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 OTHERWISE.

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

15 AUG 14 1970

Per _____

13

airtel to SACS, PH
 8/17/70 2:53 PM

PH 157-2371

directive stresses the leadership and strength of DAVID HILLIARD and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, while intimating HUEY NEWTON is useful only as a drawing card.

It is recommended this directive with form attached be mailed personally to HUEY NEWTON with a short anonymous note. The note would indicate the writer, a Community Worker in Philadelphia for the BPP, was incensed over the suggestion HUEY was only being used by the Party after founding it, and wanted no part of this chapter if it was slandering its leaders in private.

The letter, if approved, would be sent to NEWTON in care of BPP National Headquarters and marked "Personal."

To All the People:

Because of the increased repression against poor and oppressed people: because of the violations of the Constitutional rights of oppressed people: the Preventive Detention Bill, the No Knock law, the bounding and gagging of Bobby Seale in a court of law and the excessively high bails, the Black Panther Party and other Progressive Organizations are calling for a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention. To prepare for the Convention, a Plenary Session will be held on September 5, 6, & 7, 1970 in Philadelphia, Pa. Because this is not set-up as a profit-making Convention, we are in need of housing support. There will be people attending the Plenary Session from all over the Country, and there will be a need of housing for these three days.

On the form below will you please fill out and return.

NAME _____

PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____

NUMBER OF PEOPLE THAT YOU CAN HOUSE _____

NAME AND ADDRESSES OF OTHER PEOPLE WHO ARE WILLING TO HOUSE PEOPLE.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Black Panther Party
Information Center
2046 E. Boston St.
Ph 2-2217

15

AS ALL FIELD WORKERS ARE AWARE THROUGH YOUR PC CLASSES THE PARTY MUST NOW ACT TO COMPLETE PREPARATIONS FOR THE SEPT. PRIMARY SESSION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION TO BE HELD HERE. THE PARTY MANDATE TO SERVE THE PEOPLE MUST BE MET AND EXTRA EFFORT WILL BE NECESSARY TO INSURE THE PEOPLE HAVE ADEQUATE HOUSING, FOOD AND TRANSPORTATION. THE FIFTY FORMS SUPPLIED TO EACH COMMUNITY WORKER IS NOT MEANT TO BE THE LIMIT OF CONTACTS. MORE COPIES WILL BE PREPARED AS PAPER BECOMES AVAILABLE. REMEMBER THOUSANDS OF REVOLUTIONARY REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE IN THIS CITY ON INVITATION OF BOBBY, DAVID AND ELDREDGE. THEY NEED OUR BEST EFFORTS AND THE PARTY WILL NOT SETTLE FOR LESS. INSURE THE PEOPLE FILLING OUT THE FORMS THEY WILL BE CONTACTED WITHIN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME BY ONE OF THE CONVENTION COMMITTEE. DATE THE CONTACT FORM SO WE WILL KNOW WHO HAS TO BE CALLED FIRST TO VERIFY HOUSING OR OTHER HELP. COMPLETED FORMS MUST BE TURNED IN TO THE SECTION LEADER EACH DAY. YOUR DAILY REPORTS SHOULD SHOW EFFORTS ON THE CONVENTION AND 25 CONTACTS A DAY IS REQUIRED. DISCIPLINARY ACTION WILL HAPPEN IF THIS WORK FOR THE PEOPLE IS NOT DONE, YOU ARE AGAIN REMINDED OF THE NEED OF EACH WORKER TO FURNISH ONE PAGE OF PAPER EACH DAY TO MEET THE PRINTING DEMANDS. COMMUNICATION AT THIS TIME IS ESSENTIAL AND THE PAPER SHORTAGE HAS TO STOP. REMIND THE PEOPLE YOU TALK TO HUEY WILL BE THERE. WE HAVE PUBLICIZED HIS RELEASE FROM PRISON WITH THE LEAFLETS AND NEWSPAPERS HAVE BEEN FULL OF HIM. STRESS HIS PLANS TO DELIVER THE OPENING ADDRESS SINCE MOST PEOPLE PROBABLY THINK HUEY HAS CONTROLLED THE PARTY EVEN IN PRISON, AND NOT DAVID AND ELDREDGE. WHILE THEY HAVE DIRECTED OUR GROWTH AND PLANNED THIS CONVENTION, HUEY CAN AT LEAST BE USED FOR THE EVENT AS A DRAWING CARD. BE STRONG.

16

UNITED STATES

INT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. C.D. Brennan

FROM : G.C. Moore

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE MATTERS
NEW LEFT - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan

DATE: August 20, 1970

1 - Mr. J.P. Mohr
1 - Mr. N.P. Callahan
1 - Mr. G.C. Moore

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

To request pamphlet preparation of attached newspaper article describing anti-Semitism of New Left and Black Panther Party (BPP) for anonymous mailing to selected individuals and organizations as counterintelligence effort.

Attached article from "The New York Times" highlights fear of Jews to anti-Zionism of New Left and violence-prone BPP. This fear is reportedly based on increasing concern that claim of both that their anti-Zionism represents only hostility to Israel as imperialistic partner of this country, is but terrifying sham for actual, abusive, hateful anti-Semitism. The concern is apparently sufficiently founded in fact and prevalence to warrant consideration by even a liberal newspaper such as "The New York Times." The article documents instances in radical publications and presents other material which attests to this concern, and thus indirectly applies embarrassing anti-Semitic stigma to many organizations of radical New Left and BPP.

To capitalize on same from counterintelligence aspect, it is felt article content can be prepared in more striking pamphlet format to be distributed to selected offices and anonymously mailed to selected individuals or organizations within areas where full impact of anti-Semitism on part of New Left and Black Panthers can be made.

ACTION:

NOT RECORDED
133 SEP 9 1970

SEP 9 1970

ENCLOSURE If you approve, Exhibits Section will be requested to prepare desired pamphlet for reproduction in limited amount for purpose described. Five hundred copies will suffice.

Enclosure

JFM:drl
(9)

XEROX 9049

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WAS

OK

5-711-1000
17

F B I

Date: 8/13/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (157-2520) -P-
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP;
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM
BUDED: 8/14/70

Re: Butel, 8/5/70.

It is suggested that selected field divisions having local BPP offices utilize Negro male and female employees to place calls to BPP Headquarters, specifically asking to talk with NEWTON. Caller could identify self by using name of member who had dropped out or who had possibly been kicked out of the Party during NEWTON's imprisonment to complain about some local situation involving the activities of a local BPP leader which NEWTON would not be aware of and which would have been in variance with set policies of the BPP. Information obtained from informants or other sources involving the personal misconduct or dishonesty in the handling of BPP funds or other such activity which could be checked out by BPP Headquarters could be used as a legitimate complaint.

(2) - Bureau (REGIS.MAIL)
2 - Baltimore
(1 - 157-3241)

JJG:leb
(4)

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REC 83

EX-116

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

1 - T. E. Bishop

1 - [REDACTED]

8/17/70

1 - [REDACTED]

Airtel

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

To: SAC, Jackson

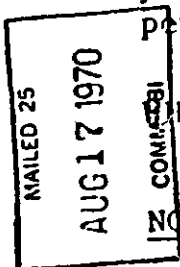
From: Director, FBI

PERSONAL ATTENTION

(2)
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA)

ReJNAirtels 8/3,4 and 5/70 which advised the Republic of New Africa (RNA) regional conference in Jackson had been disrupted and support by residents of Jackson had been curtailed as result of articles printed in the "Jackson Daily News," Jackson, Mississippi.

In reairtels Detroit and New Orleans were requested to advise of any additional tangible results which could be attributed to these articles concerning the RNA. Upon analyzing all tangible results of this counterintelligence operation, you should consider recommending commendations for appropriate personnel.



MA:sef
(6)

NOTE:

REC-42

EX-117

AUG 18 1970

Jackson recommended and Bureau authorized that office to furnish public source data concerning violent nature of RNA to a trusted news source on a confidential basis. [REDACTED] exposing the violent nature of RNA which were printed on the front pages of the "Jackson Daily News," only state-wide evening newspaper in Mississippi.

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Conner
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Gandy

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NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

20 AUG 26 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to Jackson

Re: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA)

NOTE CONTINUED:

Sources reported these articles disrupted the regional RNA conference which was held in Jackson from 7/31/70 to 8/2/70. These articles virtually eliminated support by Jackson residents.

[REDACTED]

Detroit and New Orleans sources have been requested to furnish Jackson with any information which might be attributed to this counterintelligence move. Since this was a highly successful counterintelligence operation, it is believed SAC should insure this good work is recognized.

F B I

Date: 8/12/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
 FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209) (P)
 SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 RM

Re Bu nitel to Baltimore dated 8/6/70.

Referenced nitel requested proposal to initiate and/or exploit existing dissension within BPP including conflicts between HUEY NEWTON and other leaders.

Locally, the National Headquarters, BPP, has been critical of the Chicago leadership for failure to submit reports regarding activities and finances. The Illinois Chapter has not been able to pay for copies of 'The Black Panther'.

At the present time, members of the leadership of the Illinois Chapter are reportedly visiting National Headquarters to discuss differences between the local leaders and National Headquarters. Current information indicates that these problems are being referred to NEWTON on instructions indicating that it has been accepted by those at National Headquarters that NEWTON is heading up the BPP on the national level.

At this time, it would appear that complaints coming from members of the Illinois Chapter of the BPP would not have any disruptive effect at the national level.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
 1 - San Francisco (157-601) (Info) (RM)
 1 - Chicago

JPM: pas
 (4)

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

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 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE. M Per _____

ST-115

22 AUG 1970

21

CG 157-2209

In light of the information set forth above,
no counterintelligence proposal is being submitted at this
time.

Chicago will continue to be alert for any
information which will lend itself to the development of
a counterintelligence proposal and such will be submitted
to the Bureau for consideration.

FBI

Date: 8/13/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via A I R T E L A I R M A I L (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: *Hjm* SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS;
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTERS

BUDED - 8/14/70

ReButel 8/6/70.

HUEY NEWTON has been free on bail during the last week and his activities have been closely followed by this office. To date he has made no move to direct the day-to-day activities of the BPP.

A good portion of his time has been spent in seclusion

defending NEWTON.

Since NEWTON's release he has briefly visited National Headquarters, two of the Liberation Schools, and some of the Community Centers. NEWTON has given a talk to female members of the BPP and has given a taped interview that was broadcast over a Berkeley, California, radio station. It is contemplated that NEWTON's first public appearance will be 8/15/70, at the Oakland, California, funeral of two convicts that were killed when they attempted to escape from a Marin County Courtroom on 8/7/70.

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco
LSB/jmp

(3)

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OTHERWISE.

Special Agent in Charge

REC-43

EX-111

17 AUG 15 1970

Sent

M

Per

PERSONAL INJECT.

SP 157-601

San Francisco is of the opinion that due to the paucity of activity to date by NEWTON, any counterintelligence program aimed at promoting dissension between NEWTON and other leaders is premature. However, this matter is being closely followed and suggestions will be forwarded when facts justifying them are developed. In particular San Francisco intends to exploit the re-entrance into the BPP of any members ousted during NEWTON's incarceration if BPP moves to allow new members and the ousted members were formerly personally friendly with NEWTON.

F B I

Date: 8/13/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP;
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 RM
 (BUDED: 8/14/70)

ReButel 8/6/70.

Because of his notariety, it is apparent that HUEY P. NEWTON will be much sought after for interviews by the press, radio and television and may in fact seek such interviews as a means of obtaining funds.

WFO is of the opinion that the same technique could be used in an interview of HUEY P. NEWTON and might effectively drive a wedge between NEWTON and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and cause internal dissention in the ranks of the BPP, particularly if stress is placed upon the fact NEWTON stayed in the United States to fight charges against him and served

② - Bureau
 2 - San Francisco (RM)(AM) 116
 1 - WFO
 HGE:tdl
 (5)

REC 43

14 AUG 17 1970

AUG 21 1970

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

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 OTHERWISE.

WFO 157-1292

a jail term whereas CLEAVER fled the country and continues to live in comfort and obtain large sums of money for interviews while doing nothing for blacks in the U.S. Interview should be slanted to show CLEAVER as a parasite feeding on the BPP and giving nothing in the way of sacrifice in return.

San Francisco should be in possession of sufficient material to effectively initiate such an intelligence operation

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DATE: 8/13/70

FROM : *JM* SAC, ALEXANDRIA (157-38)(P*)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReBUairtel to Albany, 3/4/68; and Alexandria letter to Bureau, 5/28/70.

The shooting death of Negro youth ROBIN GIBSON by a white 7-11 Store manager on the evening of 5/29/70, triggered a week of racial violence in Alexandria, Va., that included groups of Negro youths throwing rocks and bottles at vehicles and several fire bombings. However, the situation in Alexandria has returned to normal and the racial situation remains calm in other areas of Northern Virginia. The racial violence in Alexandria was sporadic and not linked to any organized group. There has been a minimum of activity by Black Nationalist Hate Groups in the Northern Virginia area during the past three-month period.

No counterintelligence operations are in effect or under consideration by Alexandria at the present.

Alexandria will continue to remain alert for the appearance of any Black Nationalist - Hate Groups in the Northern Virginia area and will initiate appropriate counterintelligence action when needed.

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2-Bureau
2-Alexandria
JHL:iat
(4)

REC-39

EX-103

3 AUG 17 1970



AUG 21 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

27

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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SAC, Boston (157-531)

8/24/70

REC-138

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1917

ST-119

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 8/13/70.

The Bureau is retaining the ADL report enclosed with your letter. If additional copies are available to you, you are requested to furnish one copy to New Haven for information and several copies to the Bureau.

AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF

MAILED 5

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
DeLoach, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Savel
Walters
Wyatt
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8/13/70

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-531)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Re Bulet to Boston and New Haven, 7/29/70

This report sets forth clearly the Anti-Semitic, Pro-Arab propaganda, which has emanated from the BPP and its leaders. It is professionally done, is well documented and if brought to the attention of college officials, might have a deterrent effect concerning future appearances on campuses by BPP officials.

[REDACTED]

ENCLOSURE

2-Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
1-New Haven (157-785)
1-Boston

3 AUG 17 1970

INT. SEC.

MEL:scr Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



Not for Republicatio

The Black Panthers

FACTS

DOMESTIC REPORT

JULY 1970—VOL. 19, No. 2—PUBLISHED BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

The Black Panthers

The Black Panther Party has been the subject of wide coverage by the media in its four years on the American scene. Every aspect of the Panthers' activities, except one, has been intensively probed in depth and publicly described at length. The exception: its attitude toward Israel, Zionism and Jews.

Anti-Semitism is the ADL's primary concern and, accordingly, its research into the Black Panthers has concentrated on this neglected facet of the Party and of its leadership and publications; all else is set forth as the background against which the anti-Semitism is manifested.

Introduction

The American people embarked on the decade of the 1970s in malaise and in a mood of anger, confronted by the most serious domestic challenge since the Civil War—the unsolved racial problem.

Fresh in many minds as the decade began were the ominous findings and categorical imperatives for action recently set forth by two Presidential Commissions. In 1967 and 1968, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders probed in depth the causes of the great urban racial riots that had lately rocked the country. In 1968 and 1969, the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence studied the causes of the many varieties of violence that had marked American life in the 1960s—assassinations, crime in the streets, group violence and political violence. Both Commissions, named by President Lyndon Johnson in the wake of shattering national events, drew essentially similar conclusions about the causes of the disorder and rested their basic recommendations for future remedial action on essentially similar assumptions.

Both groups found the roots of the nation's civil disorder and violence in its unsolved racial problem and in the attendant social malignancies of racism, discrimination and poverty. Both groups—the Kerner Commission and the Milton Eisenhower Commission—warned against the racial alienation and political polarization that had emerged as symptoms of the basic malady and that had produced disorder, violence, and political extremism. And both Commissions found the malady curable—if the American people had the will to attack

it by massive social and economic programs costing billions and sustained over many years. The Kerner Commission declared, in part:

"This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal . . . Discrimination and segregation have long permeated much of American life; they now threaten the future of every American . . . This deepening racial division is not inevitable. The movement can be reversed. Choice is still possible . . . To pursue our present course will involve the continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic American values.

"The alternative is not blind repression or capitulation to lawlessness. It is the realization of common opportunities for all within a single society . . .

"Violence cannot build a better society. Disruption and disorder nourish repression, not justice. They strike at the freedom of every citizen. The community cannot—it will not—tolerate coercion and mob rule . . .

"It is time now to turn with all the purpose at our command to the major unfinished business of this nation . . . It is time to make good the promises of American democracy to all citizens . . ."

The Eisenhower Commission declared:

" . . . we believe that the twin objectives of the social order must be to make violence both unnecessary and unrewarding. To make violence unnecessary, our institutions must be capable of providing justice for all who live under them—of giving all a satisfactory stake in the normal life of the community and the nation. To make violence unrewarding, our institutions must be able to control violence when it occurs, and to do so firmly, fairly, and within the law.

"The Preamble of our Constitution does not speak merely of justice or merely of order; it embraces both . . . If we are to succeed in preventing and controlling violence, we must achieve both of these goals."

The Black Panthers: Background

Extremism nurtures, and is nurtured by, our most serious problems. It spotlights our failure to find solutions—and at the same time, ironically, makes finding solutions all the more difficult.

The Black Panther Party (BPP), so visible in the nation's news headlines, is an extremist by-product of our unsolved racial problem, the problem that has left

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many black Americans understandably frustrated, angry and hopeless, undermining their faith in both the ability and the willingness of the American society to extend to them the political equality, economic opportunity, and social justice to which they are entitled.

As an armed revolutionary group, the BPP identifies with similar regimes and movements overseas, both in the Communist world and in the so-called "Third World." As an example, the Panthers have formed an alliance with Al Fatah in their war against Israel. The BPP has emerged as the leading supporter in the American black community of the Arab cause, and of Al Fatah in particular.

The Black Panther, weekly newspaper of the party, regularly publishes Fatah communiqués, interviews with Fatah spokesmen, and pro-Fatah declarations by Panther leaders that frequently contain denunciations of Israel and Zionism, often reflecting outright hostility to Jews—as Jews. In the Panther attack upon the "Zionist" it is often clear that the target is the Jew.*

The Black Panther has a weekly circulation of better than 100,000.

The Black Panther Party was formed in the San Francisco Bay area during 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. It expanded rapidly during the latter part of 1968 and reached peak strength early in 1969 when it had a membership of 2,000 to 3,000—a minuscule minority of America's black population of more than 20,000,000. Beyond that, knowledgeable observers say, the BPP had gained the support of more than 60,000 non-member sympathizers. Today, in the wake of arrests, the death, imprisonment or self-exile of some of its top leaders, and a concerted drive against it by law enforcement agencies, the party's membership is barely 1,000—although Panther sympathizers continue to be estimated in the scores of thousands.

While the Panther mystique appears to have made some inroads in the black community, especially among ghetto youth, the standing of the party among black Americans cannot be compared to the overwhelming

support and respect commanded by such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The Panthers have, nevertheless, managed to gain a nationwide following in the last two or three years—not only among blacks but among the predominantly white organizations of the Radical Left.

In addition, the drive by law enforcement agencies against Panther units from coast to coast has aroused, in responsible liberal circles, concern that the civil liberties of the Panthers may have been violated and that the BPP has been the target of undue harassment by law enforcement authorities.

These concerns reached a peak in the aftermath of the December 4, 1969, police raid on a Panther lodging in Chicago during which Illinois Panther leader Fred Hampton and a party member were killed by police bullets.

Press reports in the days following the episode cast serious doubts on the police claims that they had been met by heavy gunfire from the Panthers. Investigations were launched to explore the facts surrounding the Chicago episode that not only cost the two Panthers their lives, but resulted in indictments against seven surviving members on charges of attempted murder.

An official five-month investigation, carried out by a special Federal grand jury, aided by a U.S. Department of Justice investigating team, issued a report on May 15, 1970, charging that the police had grossly exaggerated Panther resistance in the December 4 confrontation. The report stated that only one shot could be attributed to the Panthers, while police fired anywhere from 82 to 99 shots, including those that killed the two BPP members. It added:

"... the performance of agencies of law enforcement, in this case at least, gives some reasonable basis for public doubt of their efficiency or even of their credibility . . ."

(In part because the Panthers involved had refused to testify, contending that the special grand jury was not composed of their "peer group," the jury said that it was unable to determine whether or not the officers involved had intentionally deprived the Panthers of their rights, so no indictments were returned against the police.)

*Voluminous evidence of the pro-Arab, pro-Fatah, anti-Israel, anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish content of articles in *The Black Panther* and in statements by Panther spokesmen is contained in the records of the Anti-Defamation League. For reasons of space, the entire record is not being reproduced in this report.

FACTS

is a periodic report by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 316 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Seymour Granbois, national chairman; Dore Schary, Henry F. Schultz, honorary chairmen; Leonard L. Abess, Barney Hatanan, Harry Brandt, Jack A. Goldfarb, Jacob K. Javits, Philip M. Klutznick, Gustave L. Levy, Leon Lowenstein, Robert R. Nathan, Abraham A. Ribicoff, Chester R. Roth, William Sachs, Melvin H. Schindler, honorary vice chairmen; Joseph Cohen, Charles Goldring, Alan R. Morse, Paul H. Sampson, Theodore H. Sibert, Mrs. Harry Strauss, vice chairmen; Maurice Hazyer, David Coleman, Maurice N. Dannenbaum, Herman Finberg, Louis Freedman, Abe Goldstein, Laila A. Katz, Harold Lachman, David A. Litter, Irving Louis, Edward Miller, Philip Mitchell, Mrs. Louis Perlman, Jefferson F. Peyer, Max J. Schneider, Sidney Sugarman, Samuel Tarabla, Louis Zana, honorary life members; Benjamin Greenberg, honorary treasurer; Richard M. Lederer, Jr., treasurer; Burton M. Joseph, assistant treasurer; Edward Goldberger, secretary; Lawrence Feltes, assistant secretary; Benjamin R. Epstein, national director; David A. Fine, chairman, executive committee; Norman J. Schlossman, vice chairman; William A. Wexler, president; B'nai B'rith; Jay Kaufman, executive vice president; Mrs. Michael Shapiro, president, B'nai B'rith Women; Bernard Nath, chairman of Civil Rights Committee; Arnold Forster, general counsel and Civil Rights director. FACTS is edited by Jerome Baker, director of the Research and Evaluation Dept.

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Late in June, 1970, a special Cook County prosecutor was appointed to impanel a special grand jury and to re-open the investigation into the slayings of Hampton and Mark Clark, the other Panther who was killed. The action was taken by the Chief Judge of the Cook County Criminal Court following petitions for such action by a number of organizations.

Law enforcement officials around the country have repeatedly denied the charges of Panther leaders that the party has been the target of coordinated harassment. They point to the fact that the Panthers are an armed organization, and to the firearms and explosives often discovered in Panther installations. They cite the fact that since October, 1967, six policemen have been killed and 47 wounded in confrontations with the Panthers around the country, and they call attention to the slogans of "kill the pigs" in *The Black Panther*, as well as to illustrations in the paper showing Panthers killing policemen, usually drawn as pigs. They state that in some cases, the Panthers have carried out planned ambushes of policemen and other law enforcement officers.

Law enforcement officials point out further that the Panthers have exaggerated the number of their members killed by police. On December 12, 1969, the BPP headquarters in Berkeley, Calif., issued a press release, listing 20 Panthers they claimed were killed "in cold blood" by the police. Authoritative sources, carefully examined, indicate that 10 of the 20 so listed were killed in gun-fights with police officers. Of the remaining 10, four were killed by a rival black extremist group called "US" with headquarters in Los Angeles. Two were found dead in the streets of separate cities, killed by persons unknown. Of the other four, one was killed by his wife, one by a store owner during an attempted holdup, and one died in a hospital of barbiturates. The violent death of the fourth resulted in indictments against 14 BPP members in New Haven, including party chairman Bobby Seale.

Armed Revolutionaries

The Panthers are committed to the destruction and overthrow of existing American society through the tactics of guerrilla warfare.* They regard those who support them, regardless of color, as allies. Their enemies—those who do not support their programs and tactics—include the majority of black citizens who be-

lieve in working for equality through the American democratic system and who seek integration into the nation's mainstream.

The Panthers say they are engaged in the "class struggle" against capitalism as set forth by Karl Marx, rather than in race war. But whereas Marx saw the industrial proletariat as the key instrument for revolution, the Panthers regard blacks in the "lumpenproletariat" as the instrument for revolution in the United States, and themselves as the "vanguard" party in the struggle. The Panthers reject mass rioting; they seek to mobilize the ghetto masses for urban guerrilla warfare. True "Black liberation," they say, will come only after a period of "armed struggle" and the replacement of the existing system with a non-capitalist state.

Every Panther must own a firearm and know how to use it, according to the organization's rules. The penalty for failure to do so is expulsion from the party.

In an article, "The Correct Handling of a Revolution," that first appeared in *The Black Panther* of July 20, 1967, and that was reprinted in the May 4, 1968 issue, party co-founder Huey Newton wrote:

"When the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going to the streets in large numbers and when they see the advantage of the guerrilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example. But first they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor, the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a ghetto policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance . . . it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution."

Panther Ideology

The pro-Arab, pro-Fatah, anti-Israel posture of the BPP is the product of an ideology that is an amalgam of the doctrines of Marx and Lenin, Mao Tse-tung, "Che" Guevara, North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung, Robert F. Williams (a black revolutionary who recently returned to the United States from self-exile in Cuba and Red China and who has long preached the message of urban guerrilla warfare in America) and of Frantz Fanon, the Martinique-born psychiatrist who took part in the Algerian revolution and advocated violence for "colonized" peoples.

While most American blacks consider themselves the chief victims of the race prejudice that taints American society, few share the Panthers' view of black people in America as an exploited "colony" class in an oppressive white-controlled "mother country." Nor do they agree that freedom and equality can only be achieved by destroying the capitalistic system of the "mother country" through a revolutionary class war. On the other hand, the Panthers, referring to the U.S. as "Babylon" and "AmeriKKKa," say that each person is either part of the solution, or part of the problem.

*Substantial evidence of the rhetoric of violence employed by the Black Panther Party is contained in the records of the Anti-Defamation League. For reasons of space, the record is not being reproduced in this report. In November, 1968, part of the evidence was submitted to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower, in an ADL report, Political Extremism and Violence in the United States. The ADL report was requested by the Commission's Task Force on Assassination and Political Violence, which provided a grant.

Frequently quoting Mao Tse-tung, that "political power comes through the barrel of a gun," the Panthers see themselves as engaged in the same kind of struggle being waged by the Viet Cong in Vietnam and previously by revolutionaries in Algeria and Cuba.

Like most of the Radical Left, the Panthers view Al Fatah as fighting a similar war of national liberation against Israel in the Middle East. They regard Israel as an oppressor nation and a tool of American capitalist imperialism, and they parrot the Arab propaganda line that the Jews in Israel have no right to a land which, they say, belongs to the Arab Palestinians.

In this ideological framework, *The Black Panther* provides a ready forum in the United States for the Arab cause and for Al Fatah. And some of the pro-Arab, pro-Fatah, anti-Zionist, and anti-Israel Panther pronouncements have a blatantly anti-Jewish thrust.

Israel, Zionism, Jews

On December 28, 1969, *The Washington Post* published a Reuters dispatch from Algiers, reporting that Eldridge Cleaver, self-exiled Panther Minister of Information, and Yasser Arafat, Al Fatah leader, had embraced and kissed at the first International Congress of Committees of Support for Palestine, attended by some 200 delegates representing groups supporting Al Fatah in its warfare against Israel. Arafat reportedly rejected a peaceful solution of the Middle East crisis and Cleaver delivered a speech described in the dispatch as "a fierce attack on 'American Zionists.'" Cleaver was quoted as having declared:

"We can no longer allow Zionists to point to the bones of the victims of Nazism and blind us to the piles of bones they are making of the Palestine people."

Reuters said that Cleaver had stressed the role played by a number of Jewish Americans, including Arthur Goldberg, former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., and Henry Kissinger, President Nixon's foreign affairs advisor. The dispatch added:

"Cleaver said Jewish intellectuals were helping Nixon formulate his domestic policies and added that Black Panther leaders Huey Newton and Bobby Seale were sent to prison by Zionist magistrates."

(Cleaver was reported to have denied that the Panthers are anti-Semitic, contending that the party is "anti-imperialism, anti-oppression, anti-slavery" and that it was necessary "to make a distinction between Zionists and Jews because there are young radicals who are also of Jewish origin.")

Cleaver was also interviewed by *El Moujahid* (described in an Associated Press dispatch from Algiers as "the official Algerian newspaper"), and reportedly declared: "Zionists, wherever they may be, are our enemies."

Cleaver was further quoted as asserting that in the United States "the Zionists are used to torpedo the

struggle of our people for its liberation." In an Algiers interview with a reporter for *The Washington Post*, he provided what he claimed was an example. Commenting on the investigation being planned by an unofficial citizens "Commission of Inquiry" into the recent clashes between police and Panthers in several American cities—a commission to be headed by former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg—Cleaver was quoted as stating:

"The power structure is trying to take control of the situation by using a well-known Zionist and appointing Uncle Tom Congressmen like (Illinois Democrat Charles) Diggs and (Michigan Democrat John) Conyers and two well-known and discredited Uncle Toms like Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young to erect a facade of concerned and official responsibility."

"Here comes Goldberg investigating a group that is a threat to both the Uncle Toms and the Zionists."

Also interviewing Cleaver in Algiers, veteran magazine editor and writer Don Schanche, despite his own generally understanding attitude toward the Panthers, minced no words in describing Cleaver's anti-Semitism as "virulent" and "growing." In the May, 1970 issue of *The Atlantic*, Schanche quoted Cleaver as saying:

"I think it's very functional to be down on Irish, Italians, Anglo-Saxons, and Jews. I think that black people have an interest in exacerbating the antagonisms between these ethnic groups. I'd like to see them at each other's throats . . ."

Schanche added:

"And every day, no matter where we were in Algiers, he talked disparagingly of Israel. 'I'm talking about Zionism, but I think that all Jews, particularly in the United States, have a responsibility to understand what Zionism is, what's actually happening in their name. They have been victimized by a lot of manipulation by Jewish capitalists, like United Jewish Appeal. When it comes to this whole question of Israel, they're all paralyzed. It's necessary to make a distinction between Zionists and Jews, between Jewish slumlords and Jews, Jewish capitalists and Jews.'"

". . . Later discussing Al Fatah, he said, 'We want to be just like those dudes.'"

Cleaver's statements in Algiers were not the first in which the anti-Jewish thrust was obvious. *The Black Panther* of December 21, 1968, published a long diatribe he delivered at Berkeley, Calif., a speech in which he made the following statements:

"We're going to call a spade a spade, a Jew a Jew and a pig a pig."

"If the Jews like Judge Friedman are going to be allowed to function, and come to their synagogues to pray on Saturdays, or do whatever they do down there, then we'll make a coalition with the Arabs, against the Jews . . ."

"You see you got some good Jews, some bad Jews, and they're some Jews who need killing. You got some Anglo-Saxons who need killing—and they got some niggers that need killing. You got a whole lot of people in this country who are out of order."

More recently, the BPP paper has published statements by other Panther spokesmen in which the anti-Jewish thrust was patent, despite the transparent camouflage.

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flage of their "anti-Zionist" verbiage. For example, in its issue of April 25, 1970, Connie Matthews, international coordinator of the party, commented on the "Chicago 7" trial, stating in part:

"It was a Zionist judge, Judge Hoffman, who allowed the other Zionists to go free but has kept Bobby Seale in jail . . ."

She added:

"The other Zionists in the . . . trial were willing and did sacrifice Bobby Seale . . . to gain publicity . . ."

(None of the other defendants in the trial, some of whom were Jewish, professes Zionism. Quite the contrary, in fact.)

Miss Matthews' statements were part of a larger attack on the so-called "White Left" whom she charged with failing to follow Panther leadership and with being "in a state of confusion and bewilderment" because it "is comprised of a large percentage of the Jewish population." She explained that after the BPP announced its support of the Palestinian guerrillas, "the White Left started floundering and became undecided. This leaves us with no alternative than to believe that a large portion of these people are Zionists and are therefore racists."

The May 19, 1970 issue of *The Black Panther* contained a statement signed by Zayd-Malik Shakur of the Harlem Branch of the BPP. He said in part:

"We are anti-Zionist expansion in the Arab world and Zionist exploitation here in Babylon, manifested in the robber barons that exploit us in the garment industry and the handit merchants and greedy slumlords that operate in our communities."

Pro-Arab Propaganda Themes

Panther propaganda denouncing Israel often comes from Arab sources—for example, Al Fatah materials re-published verbatim in *The Black Panther*. At other times, Arab propaganda themes are presented by the party's leaders and spokesmen in their own extremist vocabulary.

Among the more common Arab propaganda themes promoted by the Panthers:

- Israel is fascist and Nazi-like.
- Israel is an aggressor.
- Israel is a tool of Western and American imperialism.
- Zionism is a reactionary movement, spawned by imperialism.
- The Arabs and Al Fatah are fighting a war of national liberation.
- A peaceful settlement in the Middle East is not acceptable to the Arabs; the Arabs must and will fight to victory or death.
- The Arab cause is linked to the Panther struggle and the struggle of colonial peoples everywhere.

Fatah manifestos published by the Panthers and BPP leaders' own statements frequently strike more than one of these themes. For example, *The Black Panther* of August 30, 1969, devoted a full page to an article by Don Cox, BPP Field Marshal, published under a bold-face, scare headline that read:

"ZIONISM (KOSHER NATIONALISM) + IMPERIALISM — FASCISM."

Cox's article, covering at least four of the basic themes, stated in part:

"The Zionist fascist state of Israel is a puppet and lackey of the imperialist and must be smashed. Reparations must be made to all displaced people, all the people who were forced to flee and abandon their homes by demagoguery (lying and deceiving) and terror (fascism). All the property stolen by the Zionists with their fascist storm troopers led by Moshe Dayan and the aid they received from the imperialist must be returned to the people of Palestine . . ."

"... what the Zionists and the State of Israel did and are doing to the Arabs can be and is equated to what the Nazis did to the Jews."

"... Zionism is nothing more than negative, backward, reactionary nationalism—Jewish nationalism, Kosher nationalism. The philosophy of Zionism is reactionary nationalism . . ."

The October 25, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* devoted two full pages of small type to a speech Eldridge Cleaver delivered before an international convention of Communist journalists held in Pyongyang, capital of Communist North Korea, late in September. In the speech, the text of which was adorned with portraits of the Panther leader and North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung, Cleaver stated:

"The U.S. imperialist aggressors must cease their role of merchants of death and destruction who are guilty of financing and arming and protecting the arrogant, Nazi-like Zionist land-grabbers who have usurped and plundered the Fatherland of the Palestinian people."

The May 19, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther* published the text of a message sent to the Panthers by the Information Department of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, an Arab terrorist organization. Appearing under the headline, "Arab People Determined to Fight Until Victory or Death," the message promised a "people's war that will subdue the technically advanced imperialist forces" and added this salute:

"The P.F.L.P., after getting to know what you aim for and fight for, announces that it supports you morally. It is the liberation that we fight for. We are all in the same boat, facing the same ENEMY. LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION AGAINST IMPERIALISM."

Panther Cartoons

The anti-Israel thrust of the Panthers' propaganda is often articulated through the cartoonist's brush wielded for *The Black Panther* by Emory Douglas, the party's Minister of Culture. While for several years Douglas' handiwork has been mainly confined to depicting police-

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men as pigs being stabbed, shot, or otherwise dismembered by Panthers, several issues of the Panther paper in the spring of 1970 devoted full pages to multi-color Douglas cartoons that singled out Israel, "World Zionism," and "American Imperialism" as their chief targets—always depicted as pigs.

The March 21 issue, for example, devoted almost the entire back page to a cartoon showing two pigs—"U.S. Imperialism" and "Zionism"—kissing, snout to snout. The pig labeled "Zionism" wore a black eye patch and held aloft in one arm a religious sceptre crowned with a Star of David. The entire front page of the same issue was devoted to another multi-color Douglas cartoon—a massive pig labeled "U.S.A." suckling two piglets, one labeled "Israel," the other "West Germany."

A March 28 cartoon, under the headline, "If the Enemy Refuses to Get Out Annihilate Him," showed two bullet-riddled pigs, again labeled "U.S. Imperialism" and "World Zionism."

The April 11 issue devoted its back page to a Douglas cartoon featuring a group of pigs labeled "U.S. Imperialism," "Britain," "France," "West Germany," and "World Zionism." "World Zionism" was depicted sucking a baby's bottle filled with dollar signs and held by the pig labeled "U.S. Imperialism." "World Zionism's" distended stomach was shown bursting, with a dollar sign emerging through the rupture. Accompanying text carried derogatory material about each of the "pigs." With respect to France, for example, the text referred to French President Pompidou's connections with "The Rothschilds."

Panthers and Fatah

Underlining the close ties between the Panthers and Al Fatah were two reports broadcast by CBS News Correspondent Richard C. Hottelet from Algiers on January 30, 1970. Hottelet reported:

"A spokesman for Al Fatah, the biggest Palestine Arab guerrilla organization told CBS News today that close ties of solidarity and cooperation are being established between his group and the Black Panthers. A man who bears the alias of Abu Basem said that he spent two months in the United States and Canada a year ago, looking into the strength and prospects of the Panthers, and that the Fatah high command was now acting on his favorable report. The next step, he said, was that Eldridge Cleaver, who lives in Algeria, would go to Jordan in two weeks at the invitation of the Fatah leader Yasser Arafat to spend two or three weeks touring Fatah positions there. It was under discussion, said Abu Basem, to train Panther leaders in actual combat against Israel, and also to train them in sabotage for the campaign of assassination and destruction of capitalist factories which will mark the struggle against U.S. racism and exploitation. We are in the same trench, he went on, but Chairman Mao Tse-tung says that just war will succeed, because man is the decisive element."

Another Hottelet newscast from Algiers later the same day contained some additional details. The CBS correspondent now reported:

"Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panther leader who is living in Algiers, has accepted an invitation from Al Fatah, the main Palestine Arab guerrilla organization, to visit its bases in Jordan. A spokesman of Al Fatah told CBS News that Cleaver would be leaving here in a fortnight for a stay of two or three weeks, and the visit will usher in a period of solidarity and cooperation between Al Fatah and the Black Panthers. This will begin, he said, with exchanges of delegations, and he continued, it is now under discussion to train Black Panther leaders in Fatah bases and to have Black Panthers take part in Fatah operations in the Middle East . . . The Al Fatah spokesman added that Black Panthers were already being trained in North Korea, Cuba and North Vietnam."

The CBS dispatches followed other reports of several private meetings between Cleaver and Arafat in Algiers during the meetings of the Congress of Committees of Support for Palestine on December 25-28, 1969.

It was reported that Cleaver and Arafat had discussed mutual cooperation and support and that Cleaver had offered the Panthers' help for any acts of terrorism Fatah might request—in the United States, Israel, or elsewhere. Cleaver reportedly told Arafat that the Panthers stand ready to destroy any embassy or other installation the Fatah might want destroyed anywhere.

Cleaver also told Arafat the struggles of the Panthers and the Fatah were directed against the same enemies—Jews, the United States, and others. Cleaver said the Panthers had trained their people for any action, even for suicide missions.

Arafat reportedly said the time had not yet come for such activities outside of Israel, but that such a time eventually would come.

In the meantime, the reports said, Cleaver and Arafat had agreed to set up a continuing liaison committee and Arafat agreed to a request from Cleaver for supplies of "military" equipment, including—when necessary—the training of the Panthers in the use of such equipment by Fatah experts.

Panther Party Program

When Newton and Seale launched the Panthers in 1966, they called it the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense and placed heavy emphasis on persuading black people in the Bay area ghettos to arm themselves against the police. Along the way the phrase "for Self-Defense" was dropped.

In launching the party, Newton and Seale promulgated a "Ten-Point Program" that remains the basic credo of the party. It is reprinted in full each week in the back pages of *The Black Panther*, but often seems to be overshadowed by propaganda appeals to violence.

Each of the ten basic points of the program—much of which is unassailable—is followed by a paragraph of discussion setting forth reasons for the demand. The ten demands are:

"1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

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"2. We want full employment for our people.

"3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community." [This point originally referred to "robbery by white racist businessmen" and the change appears to reflect the increasingly Marxist orientation of the Panthers in recent years.]

"4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

"5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

"6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

"7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

"8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

"9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

"10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny."

The Ten-Point Program concludes with the opening sections of the American Declaration of Independence, asserting the right of the people to "alter or abolish" governments which become destructive of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and "to institute new government."

Panther Organization and Growth

The BPP first attracted nationwide attention in May, 1967, when an armed contingent of party members led by Bobby Seale invaded the California capitol at Sacramento where stricter gun control legislation (opposed by the BPP) was under consideration. The party nevertheless remained essentially a local organization until mid-1968, when it entered a period of rapid growth from coast to coast.

By May, 1970, there were approximately 40 Panther chapters and affiliated units in operation around the country. The Panther-affiliated groups include "National Committees to Combat Fascism" or "Community Information Centers," which function just as the BPP chapters do, and are under the control and discipline of the BPP National Headquarters, recently moved from Berkeley to Oakland. The name "National Committee to Combat Fascism" was originally meant to apply to new "anti-fascist" local groups composed of black and

white radicals, but such working coalitions never materialized. The "Community Information Centers" reflect an effort by the BPP to develop a formal apparatus for its local community programs and political activities. They may also indicate a desire to operate under banners that are not immediately identifiable with the party itself. In this respect, the names of some of the "Centers" are of interest: A short-lived St. Paul "Center" was called the "Martin Luther King-Huey P. Newton Community Center." In Mt. Vernon, N.Y., a unit was called the "Nat Turner Community Information Center," and in Reading, Pa., the unit was simply called the "Reading Community Information Center."

In any case, despite some obvious organizational problems, the Black Panther Party is today a nationwide organization whose revolutionary message and activities appear to have made certain inroads in black communities across the country, especially among the young—most Panthers, in fact, tend to fall into the 16 to 35 age bracket.

Membership 'Purges'

The party's growth in the latter half of 1968 was so rapid that during the following year, Panther leaders felt obliged to rid the organization of unreliable and undisciplined newer members.

An article in *The Black Panther* of January 25, 1969, bearing the headline "Panther Purge," announced that "in order to preserve democratic centralism and destroy ultra-democracy within our ranks," the BPP Central Committee had decided "to purge members within the Party to rid ourselves of opportunism" and "petty bourgeoisie" individualism. The statement added that "all those who aspire to opportunism are directly related to the repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat . . ." *The Guardian*, an independent radical newsweekly, reported in its February 1, 1969 issue that the Black Panthers had "launched a campaign to purge its ranks of 'fools and jackanapes'" and quoted Seale as stating that the party was "tightening" its membership. He told the paper that the BPP would accept no more members for three months "while we intensify our political education." During the months that followed, *The Black Panther* published frequent, and sometimes lengthy, lists of former BPP members who had been purged from the ranks of its branches throughout the country.

The 'Time'-Harris Poll

A recent survey of attitudes and opinions in the American black community, conducted by public opinion analyst Louis Harris for *TIME* Magazine and published in the April 6, 1970, "Special Issue" on "Black America 1970," suggested that sympathy and support for the Panthers may be even more widespread than is in-

dictated by the party's membership of 1,000 and its 60,000 hard-core non-member supporters.

If Harris' figures are to be accepted, 25% of his sample—a percentage amounting to more than 5,000,000 black Americans—categorically stated that "The Black Panthers represent my own personal views." Harris reported that among blacks under 21, the percentage was 43%—more than two out of every five black youths. And, he found, 61% of all blacks agreed that the "Panthers give me a sense of pride."

Harris found that on a national basis, 9% of all blacks—more than 2,000,000—count themselves as "revolutionaries" and believe that only a readiness by Negroes to use violence will ever get them real equality. He further found that regardless of their own convictions about violence, the number of black Americans who believe that Negroes will probably have to resort to violence to win their rights had risen from 21% in 1966 to 31% today—about one black American out of every three. More disturbing, he reported that among black teenagers, 40%—two of every five—thought that violence would be necessary for Negroes to win their rights. The survey further showed that while a far greater number of those polled—59%—advocated violence only as a last resort when all else had failed, only 25% of those polled were willing to say that violence should be avoided at all costs.

Harris also reported "profound cynicism" among black Americans about the American political system. He reported that 63% agreed that "the system is rotten and has to be changed completely for blacks to be free."

Sympathizers and Allies

The Black Panther Party enjoys the support of certain other groups on the Radical Left, some of whom tend to compete with each other in pro-Panther militancy. These include the Communist Party and its recently-formed new youth arm, the Young Workers Liberation League; the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and its youth arm, the Young Socialist Alliance; the Workers World Party, a Marxist-Maoist splinter group, and its youth arm, Youth Against War and Fascism; the Patriot Party and Young Patriots, who are young radical Southern whites in such Northern cities as New York and Chicago; the Young Lords, a radical Puerto Rican youth group, also with units in New York and Chicago; and some elements of the now-fragmented Students for a Democratic Society, especially the so-called Revolutionary Youth Movement-II. The issue of support for the Panthers—and the question of the degree of support—was one factor in the breakup of SDS into three major factions during the summer of 1969.

Some radical leftist organizations accept the Panther party's contention that it is the "vanguard" party of the

entire Far Left movement in the United States and the spearhead of a coming American revolution.

Periodicals of established Radical Left groups such as the Communist *Daily World* and *People's World* and the Trotskyist *Militant*, have devoted substantial and mostly sympathetic coverage and help to mobilize their own followers in support of the Panthers. Further coverage and support comes from the so-called "underground newspapers"—scores of weeklies published in cities across the country that cater to youthful radicals, "hippie" elements, and others who often participate in radical leftist protest demonstrations. The circulation of the "underground press" has been estimated to run as high as 2,000,000 and it is serviced by several "underground" news services.

Other sources of Panther support are leftist newspapers and magazines unaffiliated with any specific groups. These include such weeklies as *The Guardian*, published in New York; *The Movement*, a New Left-oriented paper published in San Francisco; and left-oriented magazines such as *Ramparts* and *Evergreen*.

The Panthers have enjoyed sympathy and support from some elements in the white community who appear to be unaware of, or unconcerned by, the party's revolutionary and violence-prone posture and who instead think of the BPP as merely an ultra-militant Negro "civil rights" organization. These include, for example, some clergymen who have made their churches available for Panther meetings and community activities, such as the party's free breakfast program for ghetto children; individuals prominent in the arts and entertainment world who have contributed money or raised it from their friends for Panther bail and defense funds; segments of the college and university community; and writers, journalists and intellectuals who have published articles sympathetic to the Panthers.

A barometer of the growth of Panther impact in the last few years is the substantial increase in the circulation of *The Black Panther*. Circulated almost exclusively in the San Francisco Bay area in mid-1967, it is now sold nationally—mostly on the streets by Panther members and other vendors, being hawked at 25¢ a copy—and has achieved a circulation of 100,000, about half of which is still said to be concentrated in the Bay area.

Another yardstick of the increased Panther impact in the last two or three years is the number of speaking engagements filled by party spokesmen. During 1969, Panthers made 189 appearances at secondary schools, colleges and universities alone—compared to 11 such appearances in 1967, the party's first full year of operation.

Tactical Shifts

In the wake of the arrests and trials that have sapped their leadership cadres and their financial resources,

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the Panthers have shifted tactics several times in the last year or so.

During the latter half of 1969, the party began to reach out for allies and supporters in the Radical Left movement and to try to moderate its image as an organization of gun-carrying guerrilla warriors. In many locations, the black berets and black leather jackets that have become the Panther uniform were no longer worn. Rifles and shotguns were rarely carried on the streets as had been the case earlier where, as in California, the carrying of such weapons on the streets was legal.

In the same period, heavy emphasis was placed on community programs designed to "serve the needs of the people"—the best known of these being the Panthers' free breakfast programs for ghetto children, actually combination breakfast-and-indoctrination sessions. The BPP also sought to develop free medical service programs in some cities, and in the summer of 1969, launched so-called "Liberation Schools" to indoctrinate youngsters after school or during summer vacation. In some areas clothing drives were conducted and the proceeds distributed to ghetto residents. In other areas, the party conducted campaigns against the use of narcotics by black youngsters.

Another significant tactical move, also apparently deriving from a conviction that the party was in an essentially defensive position during the middle of 1969, was the BPP sponsorship of a so-called "United Front Against Fascism" conference held July 18-21, 1969, in Oakland. The conference was preceded by a number of articles in *The Black Panther* branding the United States as "fascist" and by several excerpts from speeches made during the 1930s by Comintern leader Georgi Dimitrov calling for the formation of united fronts between Communist parties, other left-wing groups, and liberal forces against the Nazism and fascism of that period.

The U.F.A.F. conference was an apparent move to solidify Panther relationships with sympathetic groups on the Radical Left and to rally these diverse and often feuding forces around a Panther program that emphasized the freeing of so-called "political prisoners" and the establishing of local community control by ghetto residents over local police forces. At the conference, the Panthers called for "political freedom for all proletarian type organizations" and the development of a "national force" into a "front which answers the basic desires and needs of all people in fascist, capitalistic, racist America."

The conference in Oakland drew about 3,000 persons, about 10% black and 90% white, most of the latter being students. The *San Francisco Chronicle* of July 22, 1969, said the gathering of "3,000 radicals" ranged "from old-line Communists to campus militants . . ." *The Guardian* of July 26, 1969, said that those present "included the leadership of SDS, members of women's

liberation groups, the Communist party and a number of white left groups."

Among the major speakers were Panther party man Bobby Seale; Communist Party theoretician Herbert Aptheker; several SDS leaders; Dr. Nathan director of the Black Studies Department at San Francisco State College; and a number of radical activists and ideologists.

As part of the Panther program aimed at local community control of police forces—the symbol of "fascism" to BPP members and supporters—the party instructed conference participants to circulate petitions demanding such control and announced plans to form some 50 United Front Against Fascism Committees to coordinate the distribution.

In the wake of the conference, the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, the Maoist Progressive Labor Party and some New Left elements charged that the Panthers had entered into an alliance with the Communist Party and that CP influence at the conference was obvious. These elements view the CP as "revisionist," "rightist," and "counter-revolutionary," and branded the conference and the alleged Panther-CP alliance as a backward step in the revolutionary struggle in America.

The Panthers have neither confirmed nor denied an alliance with the Communist Party. In an interview with *The Guardian*, published August 16, 1969, P. Chief of Staff David Hilliard was quoted as stating:

"We are not aligned with the CP. The CP is an authoritarian organization controlled by Gus Hall. We are aligned with factions within the CP who want to move towards a better society."

Early in 1970, however, the Panthers appeared to be placing less emphasis on the need for a "united front" with other Radical Left elements, and less emphasis on the free breakfast program—although it was still being operated by Panther units in various parts of the country.

Instead, during the early months of 1970, *The Black Panther* began to re-emphasize guns, weapons, and revolutionary slogans against "fascist repression" which it saw as pervading the nation. Pictures of M-16 automatic rifles again began to appear throughout the paper, which they had consistently appeared until about a year earlier. During March and April, 1970, the paper ran a series of articles by Field Marshal Cox on "Organizing Defense Groups," featuring pictures of a wide variety of revolvers, pistols, rifles, shotguns and other weapons and presenting detailed instructions on care and use. An article in the April 18, 1970 issue presented detailed instructions on the home manufacture of Molotov cocktails and a so-called "People's Hand Grenade" that can be made from an empty aerosol can filled with gunpowder, and with shot or small nails to serve as shrapnel and ignited by a wick fuse.

During June, 1970, there were indications of another tactical shift by the Panthers. The party

for a "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention" to be held in Philadelphia on Labor Day, 1970, to write a new constitution, based on "a Proportional Representation within a socialist framework," that would give blacks and "other oppressed ethnic groups" as well as youth and old people the rights the Panthers said were being denied under the existing U.S. Constitution.

The call for the Philadelphia gathering was announced at a rally on the steps of Lincoln Memorial in Washington on June 19, 1970—the 107th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. It was given publicity in two June issues of *The Black Panther* that featured explanatory articles by Newton and Cleaver and a "Message to America."

The "Message" said that the time had come for black people in America to make "the most serious decisions" and that the hour had arrived to implement the section of the BPP Program calling for determination of the national destiny of black people through a U.N.-supervised plebiscite. The statement said:

"If we are to remain part of the United States, then we must have a new Constitution that will strictly guarantee our Human Rights to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness, which is promised but not delivered by the present Constitution . . . If this is not to be, if we cannot make a new arrangement within the United States, then we have no alternative but to declare ourselves free and independent of the United States. If it is our national destiny to follow the latter course, then we must declare ourselves into self-governing machinery and seek the recognition of the freedom-loving nations of the world."

The "Message" closed with a "Warning to America" that said:

"We are from 25 to 30 million strong, and we are armed. If the American people, as a whole, do not rise up, reverse the present course of this nation, which, if unchecked, holds out only fascist repression and genocide for Black people, then we, the Black people, will be forced to respond with a form of War of Salvation that in the chain of causing it out and the attempt to repress it, will gut this country and utterly destroy it. Before we accept Genocide, we will inflict Total Destruction upon Babylon."

"It had best be understood, now, that the power we rely upon ultimately . . . is our strategic ability to lay this country in ruins from the bottom to the top. If forced to resort to this guarantee, we will not hesitate to do so. **FOR THE SALVATION, LIBERATION AND FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLE, WE WILL NOT HESITATE TO EITHER KILL OR DIE! ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**"

In his explanatory article that appeared a few days earlier in the June 13, 1970 issue of *The Black Panther*, Newton wrote that "Blacks are perfectly justified in declaring a Republic or a Liberated Territory . . ." Cleaver, writing in the same issue, underscored the fact that the plebiscite aspect of the BPP Platform was a "major political goal" of the party.

The tactical shifts of the BPP at various points in time have not altered its basic program or its basic

revolutionary and violent thrust. One apparent result, however, is that different Panther chapters reflect the varying emphases of different periods, some stressing such less violent activities as the breakfast program, others the emphasis on arms and weapons.

Despite these surface variations in the tactics and activities of local units, there is little doubt that the BPP functions under strict discipline. The *Rules of the Black Panther Party*, issued by national headquarters and published every week in the party paper, lay down strict regulations for individual conduct, require daily reports by every member and officer, attendance at regular political indoctrination classes, and political work in the community. Rule 25, moreover, categorically states:

"All chapters must adhere to the policy and ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY."

Finances

Testimony in June, 1969, by two former Panther party officials before the Senate Permanent Sub-Committee on Investigations indicated that late in 1968 and early in 1969 the BPP was receiving gross monthly revenues of between \$50,000 and \$100,000. More recent estimates place the Panther income at between \$10,000 and \$60,000 a month—somewhere between \$450,000 and \$750,000 a year.

The Panthers draw on a variety of financial sources. Special defense funds for arrested and imprisoned Panther leaders, such as BPP founder Huey Newton, appear to have been a lucrative source of funds for the party. (Newton was charged with murder in the death of an Oakland policeman during a gunfight between police and Panthers in October, 1967. In September, 1968, he was convicted by a jury of voluntary manslaughter and was sentenced to prison for two to 15 years. The case was appealed and in May, 1970, the California Court of Appeal reversed the conviction, one of the grounds being that the trial judge had omitted certain necessary instructions to the jury.)

While Newton awaited trial in late 1967 and early 1968, the BPP had set up the Huey Newton Defense Fund, which appealed for contributions from radical groups and individuals all over the world. "Free Huey" became a Radical Left slogan and numerous rallies and fund-raising affairs were held throughout the United States. How much money was collected is not known.

The Panthers also derive some revenues from the sale of *The Black Panther*, and of books, pamphlets and literature, posters, buttons and recordings, as well as from lecture fees and honorariums for public speaking engagements. In his recent book, *Seize the Time*, party chairman Scale indicated that lecture fees ranged from \$500 to \$1,000 each, and that during one period, he alone was making 10 or 12 such appearances each month.

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The Senate investigators in June, 1969, heard testimony that the Panthers have received "large donations from members of the advisory committee, a part of the Black Panther Party." The witness, who had worked in Panther national headquarters, then at Berkeley, testified that the advisory committee "consists of many people who are in positions where they are well known either locally or nationally, or internationally; and they become members because they are sympathetic to the cause. Some well-known figures are actors and actresses, doctors, and political figures."

Testimony before the Senate sub-committee and reports from authoritative sources also indicate that during a 1968 election alliance between the BPP and the California Peace and Freedom Party, the BPP received substantial monetary support from the PFP. (In that campaign, Eldridge Cleaver was the PFP candidate for President of the United States, even though too young to meet the Constitutional requirements for that office. Huey Newton was a PFP candidate for the U.S. Congress, Mrs. Kathleen Cleaver for a seat in the California State Senate, and party leader Bobby Seale for the State Assembly.)

The emphasis by the Panthers on free hot breakfast programs for ghetto children, free medical services, and other community projects led to speculation about how these programs were being financed.

The best information indicates that local merchants doing business in black neighborhoods have been solicited—sometimes pressured—by the Panthers for contributions of cash, goods, or both. Some stores that balked have been the targets of Panther boycott efforts. Testimony before the Senate sub-committee, for example, showed that a leaflet bearing the name of the BPP had been circulated in Oakland, Calif., during June, 1969, urging boycott of Safeway Stores, a major supermarket chain that was charged with refusing to donate. An article in the *Philadelphia Bulletin* of July 13, 1969, reported that the Panthers were distributing lists of companies that had refused to contribute milk, food or money for the breakfast program there.

According to the *Wall Street Journal* of August 29, 1969, Daitch-Crystal Dairies, Inc., which operates Daitch Shopwell supermarkets, a large chain in the New York area, was contributing to the Panther program, as was Dairy Lea Milk Products, Inc., a firm that does \$300,000,000 worth of business a year and that distributes throughout the Northeast. The president of Dairy Lea was quoted as saying:

"They didn't threaten, but they asked in such a way that we knew we might be opening the door to bad publicity if we didn't give. We run a lot of routes all over this area, and we don't want to make any enemies."

In Peekskill, N.Y., former location of one of several Panther offices in New York State, local merchants received two separate messages for donations to Panther

programs. The first, circulated in the spring of 1969, announced the launching of a local BPP breakfast program and stated:

"... the equivalent [sic] of 2¢ worth of food per day taken in, of the people's choice, would be collected from the merchants... In this manner, a part of the money is taken out of the community and spent elsewhere, can put to good use in the community."

The letter concluded:

"In this way, the Panthers intend not only to meet most basic needs and desires of the Black community, also to erase the negative impression that has been dropped on the party by the racist-owned and oriented news media."

A few months later, in September, the tone of Peekskill Panthers became harsher as they announced a "Free Clothing for Children Program." The stated:

"We are demanding that all merchants who rob and exploit our community return some of the profits that they take from our community by donating clothing and supplies..."

"The oppressed communities welcome your cooperation. We would like to set up an appointment with you to discuss the details of your donation."

An article sent in by the Kansas City branch of the BPP and published in *The Black Panther* of May 1969, reported, in part:

"The Black Panther Party has... hounded the avaricious businessmen infesting the Black Community, who rob, and [obscenity] Black People. Some of them have crossed with donations but other five-time corner grocery stores charging space-age prices for stone-age quality have refused to cooperate. Therefore, we call on the masses of oppressed people to kill this worm of economic exploitation."

"The large businesses in the city such as Sealtest Dairy, Foremost Dairies, and Country Club Dairies have had audacity to say that the price of milk is too high for us to donate milk. [Obscenity]. Who sets the prices? Kroger chain store refused to donate food or otherwise operate with the people's revolutionary program because they claimed they already donate to Soul, Inc., an black organization which is doing their thing to take of the people's needs. But this is still a cop-out. The Party will also deal with this antagonistic contradiction..."

"This revolutionary program will be a good way to the oppressed masses... that they are the strength of the revolution..."

Summary

Despite arrests and other troubles with law enforcement agencies, the purging of its own ranks by its leaders, the decimation of its leadership cadre, a levelling-off of its membership at roughly one-third one-half its peak strength, the Black Panther Party nevertheless scored significant successes since it was founded from scratch in 1966.

The party has become a national organization with units from coast to coast. It has won sympathetic support from an apparently growing minority of

ica's more than 20,000,000 black people, especially among ghetto youth. The Panthers have achieved a "vanguard" image and significant prestige in the country's troublesome and increasingly violence-prone Far Left movement, as well as among radical leftists overseas.

The party also enjoys a degree of sympathy, if not of support, among some presumably responsible Americans who, despite the commitment of the Panthers to armed struggle and violent revolution, apparently view the party as a benign movement.

More important, perhaps, the Panthers have aroused deep concern among prominent and responsible liberal organizations and individuals because of a widely-held belief in such circles that the party has been a target of undue harassment by law enforcement authorities and that at least in some instances—Chicago, for example—the civil rights and civil liberties of the Panthers have been violated.

The future of the Panthers as a viable organization on the left extremist front remains to be seen. The findings of the Louis Harris poll of black Americans for TIME Magazine suggest that the Panther party—or one like it—has a dangerously high support potential because a minority of black Americans, numbered in the millions, accepts the necessity of violence by blacks and expresses approval of, or even pride in, the Panther movement.

Considered by themselves alone, the Panthers—at the moment—do not appear strong enough to pose an imminent threat to the American Republic, whatever havoc they may wreak on the American scene in the immediate future. But as part of a larger leftist revolutionary movement in the United States, the Panthers and their allies become a major problem to those Americans who believe in the democratic process.

The Panthers are, perhaps, one of the most important elements in the Radical Left movement that has emerged in recent years and that is mounting an increasingly violent assault against democratic institutions and processes. Today's Radical Left is waging a kind of guerrilla warfare against our society, against such basic American institutions as the colleges and universities, the public schools and the courts. Violence on the Far Left can in no way whatsoever be viewed as a legitimate expression of the right of protest or dissent, the right of peaceable assembly, or the right of freedom of speech. It also cannot—and must not—be used as a reason for violating the fundamental Constitutional safeguards that protect all citizens, including Black Panthers.

Whatever dangers the future may hold, the danger posed by the often violence-prone revolutionary left in the United States currently equals in scope and intensity—if it does not already exceed—the danger of violence currently posed by Radical-Rightist groups such as the Minutemen and by hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. In addition, the avowed violence of the

Panthers and movements on the Radical Left may eventually serve to build the strength of Far Right reaction.

The Panthers, moreover, have overseas ties and alliances inimical to the United States. Support radiates toward Panther headquarters in California from Peking, Hanoi, Havana, Algiers, Pyongyang, and from Al Fatah headquarters in the Middle East. Radical Left movements in Western Europe, Canada and Latin America likewise lend their voices in support. Such worldwide support, along with the widespread publicity and notoriety the BPP has achieved in the domestic mass media, seem to give the Panthers an impact far out of proportion to their relatively small membership.

As a result, the activities of the Panthers have contributed substantially to the racial and political polarization that has taken place on the American scene in recent years, helping to feed the "backlash" and the reactionary mood of repression that has shown signs of growing around the country.

Like so many Radical Right and Radical Left movements that have appeared through the decades in the Western World, the Panthers have included anti-Semitism in their propaganda arsenal. They have salted their manifestos with the time-worn canards and stereotypes used by anti-Semites for years. They have made common cause with the Arab forces in the Middle East that are waging a war of destruction against Israel.

In their all-out support for Al Fatah, the Panthers have attacked Israel with the rhetoric of Arab and anti-Semite alike, and when they have come under criticism for doing so, they have fallen back on the ancient wheeze of the anti-Semites who denounce Zionists because they hate Jews—the spurious claim that they are only anti-Zionist and anti-Israel, not anti-Semitic or anti-Jewish.

The Panthers are, finally, in major measure symptoms of the malignancy that infects America—its unsolved racial problem. Unless and until American society, in a new consensus, moves massively to confront the challenge of this problem and to resolve it, the nation will continue to be plagued by extremist organizations taking their cue from our failures, some of them committed to violence and revolution, others to violence and repression.

The threat to democratic institutions posed by the armed and revolutionary movements of the Far Left is a cause for concern that the overwhelming majority of Jews share with their fellow-citizens. The anti-Zionist, anti-Israel, pro-Arab and often overtly anti-Jewish propaganda and activities of the Black Panthers and some of their extremist allies, however, pose a special and direct concern to Jews in the United States—a concern undoubtedly shared by the overwhelming majority of non-Jewish Americans, both black and white. The need for continuing this deep concern seems unlikely to diminish in the near future.

DATE: 8/12/70

FROM SAC, ATLANTA (100-7182)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE)

Re New York airtel to Bureau, 7/28/70

Referenced airtel advised Knoxville to mail a letter signed "A Friend" on 8/4/70, to the Inter-Religious Foundation for Community Organizing, and for Atlanta to mail a letter signed "Concerned" to the same organization on 8/12/70.

Atlanta has mailed the letter signed "Concerned" this date.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

REC-3000-448006-1914

EX-100

22 AUG 14 1970

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (43)(RM)
1 - Knoxville (RM)
2 - Atlanta

(1-100-7182)
(1-100-6488)

REF/df
(6)

51 AUG 2 1964 Rm. 806 DSR

~~RAI... SECT~~

43

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8/12/70

FROM : SAC, New Haven (157-785)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP;
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP),
RACIAL MATTER

BUDED: 8/14/70.

ReButel to Baltimore and other offices, 8/6/70.

At present, the Black Panther Party (BPP), New Haven, is publishing a weekly flyer entitled "Panther Trial News", copy enclosed, which gives the Panther version of the trial of LONNIE MC LUCAS, presently on trial in New Haven, Conn., for murder of ALEX RACKLEY, alleged BPP informer. This flyer is widely distributed in the New Haven area, and as a counterintelligence measure it is suggested that a similar flyer be prepared to coincide with the distribution of the next issue which is to be distributed on August 16, 1970. The counterintelligence flyer would state generally the events of the trial and then give opinions and statements that would be detrimental to the policy line of the BPP yet they would have to take full credit for the flyer. This measure may tend to disrupt their method of loosely passing out leaflets in the New Haven area.

Also included in the counterintelligence leaflet would be certain things that will show Huey Newton in an unfavorable light by his own party, such as his philosophies about fighting in Asian countries and not dealing with the matters at hand in the U. S.

If Bureau approval is given for above proposal, Bureau, if possible, is requested to prepare Xerox masters utilizing the format depicted on the enclosed flyer, and thereafter New Haven will incorporate the proposed message of the flyer as related above. One master would be Issue no. 7, dated August 16, 1970, and the other would be Issue no. 8, dated August 23, 1970.

(2-Bureau (RM) (Encl.)
1-New Haven
IMG/lrf
(3)

8 1970

SEP 4 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

REC-57

EX-116

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RACIAL MAT. SECT.

105-16570-32
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN



PANTHER TRIAL NEWS

WHAT'S REALLY HAPPENING AT THE TRIAL OF LONNIE MCLUCAS

Published Weekly by the
Panther Trial News Committee
532 State Street, New Haven
Issue no. 6, August 9, 1970

On April 22, 1970, George Sams testified that Black Panther Chairman Bobby Seale gave the order to kill an alleged informer, Alex Rackley. Despite all the plea bargaining, testimony of police agents and the like which have surrounded this case, George Sams Jr. remains the only evidence incriminating Seale. At the time of the hearing, a request by the defense that Sams undergo a psychiatric examination to determine his competence was granted. Had he been ruled incompetent, the state would have been forced to grant bail to Bobby Seale.

The results of that "examination" and Sams' history which made it necessary are especially relevant at this moment because this past week this controversial man took the stand to testify against the first of the New Haven Nine, Lonnie McLucas.

Sams' past life has been a tumultuous one, spent largely in and out of institutions. Acquaintances of his in Detroit have called him a braggart and a brawler who wanted to be called "Detroit George." Because of idiosyncracies such as packing a revolver under a used choir robe (his "dashiki"), he was more commonly known as "Crazy George."

Sams' Detroit associates were hardly the only ones to question his sanity. Authorities in New York committed him to Wassaic State School where he was termed "mentally defective" and a "moron." Shortly thereafter he was institutionalized a second time in Napanock, N.Y. at the Eastern Correctional Institution. This time he was called an "immature, unstable personality of borderline intelligence." At Napanock, his I.Q. was said to be 75, or 5 points above the level for confinement. At one time, while serving as a body guard for Stokely Carmichael, he drank an entire pitcher of water which he had been tasting for poison, naturally halting the meeting and bewildering the audience.

With respect to the Rackley case, the Panthers charge that it was Sams, operating on his own demented initiative or in conjunction with police agents, who engineered the killing of Rackley. With all of this in view, defense attorneys naturally questioned whether the testimony of Sams could be grounds for refusing bail to anyone.

It was a doctor appointed by the state who conducted the "examination." He testified on Tuesday that Sams was capable of "reporting accurately, satisfactorily and completely events in which he was a participant or to which he has been a witness."

When Dr. Robert B. Miller said that Sams' attitude was one of "warmth and cooperation" and that he showed "no evidence of any disorder of feeling or mood," defense attorney Theodore Koskoff began to investigate the nature of that examination before the

court. Koskoff asked Dr. Miller on what he based his diagnosis that Sams could no longer be classified as mentally defective, the witness responded that when he had entered the room in which Sams was sitting, Sams rose to offer him a seat. This "showed that in growing up Sams had earned respect for elders." He rejected Koskoff's suggestion that Sams might be manipulating him.

Koskoff registered visible surprise at the Doctor's testimony that he had gotten virtually all of his information about Sams from Sams himself. When Koskoff reminded the doctor of Sams' having been termed mentally defective, Miller responded that he "now has the proper stimulation to improve his situation," and that (obviously as an example of "proper stimulation" Sams had said that he had learned to play chess in jail. Koskoff asked whether the doctor believed everything that Sams had said and Dr. Miller, despite his knowledge of Sams' history, said that he had no reason not to believe him. Also, Sams' I.Q. has apparently increased since he was tested in New York. Dr. Miller testified that it is now 85.

Finally, Koskoff asked whether it might be possible that all of the drugs Sams was taking could have calmed him and masked his violent nature during the examination. Dr. Miller said that he had not checked the prison medical record but he was sure that drugs would not have made a difference. Koskoff noted that Sams is now taking tranquilizers, pain killers, skin medication, darvon, phenobarbital and a central nervous system depressant. He also brought out the fact that, despite Sams' ability to "report accurately, satisfactorily and completely," he could not say what the names of the institutions he has been in are or in what state they are located.

The entire examination, according to the doctor, took two hours and was a "short cut to affirm my own clinical evaluation." The defense motion that another doctor of their choice examine Sams was denied despite the simple fact that lives could depend upon that man's actions. In fact, Judge Mulvey apparently felt qualified after the doctor's narration of a 2-hour exam, to say Sams "is not insane and never was insane."

Sams' testimony is nearly entirely contradictory to the testimonies of Panther Frances Carter and former Panthers Loretta Luckes and Warren Kymbro.

He, along with Landon Williams, (another of the Nine), arrived on the East Coast from National Headquarters in Oakland in May of 1969. While Sams says that he was sent to "straighten out" the East Coast Party, National states that he would never have been trusted with so important a mission and that his coming here with Williams at all was due to a "mix-up."

100-4480-06-1711-170

Sams testified that Rackley's presence in New Haven was voluntary. He spoke of all the Panthers beating Rackley after Sams was instructed by Landon Williams to discipline him. Sams said that he gave Rackley \$3.00 for a bus after telling him that he should not be in the Party. According to Sams, it was Kimbro who told Rackley to remain.

The infamous tapes were made by Sams, and for reasons which are not very clear. He made them, he said, because he feared Rackley would die and he knew that National would demand to know why discipline had gone that far.

Sams attempted to reverse the roles into which all of the other witnesses have placed him and Lonnie. He spoke of Lonnie pouring hot water on Rackley and of his (Sams) pouring cold water on him and wanting to take him to the hospital.

Insisting that Kimbro was present (Kimbro claims never to have seen Seale at his house) when Chairman Bobby said, "What do you do with a pig? You kill a pig. Off him," with reference to Rackley. Sams said he was reprimanded by Williams for being "too lenient."

According to Sams, Williams also ordered him to kill Lonnie and Kimbro, too, if they got nervous. At this point, Sams becomes slightly incoherent. He mentioned being ordered to kill Chicago leader Fred "Hamilton" (presumably "Hampton") as a counterrevolutionary. He also spoke something about having been under "people's arrest" for male chauvinism but of escaping when police surrounded the house. He also

mentioned a "put-up in Kunstler's lady friend's house after the murder. The introduction of Kunstler name into this case is either absurd or intentionally provocative.

Cross-examination of Sams began this past week also. Sams testified that he and DiRosa discussed his testimony "dozens of times", yet when he changed a detail on a statement, he attributed it to DiRosa's or the FBI's incorrect version of his statement. His memory, like Kimbro's is better now than it was, especially with respect to incriminating Lonnie.

As Sams began to speak of his original source of involvement with the Black Panther Party, the foundation of his animosity towards Seale forms. From the beginning - he joined in Stokely's orders - he argued with Seale and was eventually expelled by him for stabbing a brother in the leg, although Stokely got him back in.

Sams bitterness towards the Party is harder to pinpoint. He says that it is going "too communist" and that for that reason he pleaded guilty. He gave reasons why Rackley was murdered neither of which is terribly logical. The first reason was to put a scare into the New Haven chapter and the second (most illogical in view of Sams' opinion that Rackley was not really an informer) was to avenge the New York 21 bust.

Sams admits to initiating the torture of Rackley, but says that Rackley had the power to leave whenever he wished. He revealed his dislike for Lonnie when he said "Lonnie said, 'Right on.' That's all he ever could say."

Cross-examination of Sams will continue on Tuesday

HELP WANTED

We would like to reach as many people with the TRIAL NEWS as we possibly can. However, in order to continue to publish, and to expand our distribution, we need some help from the people. We need man and womanpower to get the paper around New Haven and beyond. And, of course, we need money. Call our office at 532 State St., 787-5462 weekdays, or call 562-4851 evenings and weekends. Donations, of any size, are welcome, and may be sent to State Street.

COME TO THE TRIAL

Despite Judge Mulvey's continued refusal to move the proceedings to a larger room (there is one right down the hall), the crowd outside of Lonnie's trial every morning and afternoon must increase, not decrease. It is very important that as many people as possible continue to evidence their support for Lonnie and his brothers and sisters on trial. Sessions begin at 10:00 am and at 2:00pm, Tuesday through Friday, in the Superior Court Building at Elm and Church Streets.

UNITED STATES

MENT

Memorandum

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: August 11, 1970

FROM: SA, SEATTLE (157-721) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY - BPP)

Re Seattle letter to the Bureau 7/14/70.

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

None.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

None.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

None.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

None.

2 - Bureau (REG)
2 - Seattle
SER/drm
(4)

REC 25

REC 25

22 AUG 13 1970

EX-109

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56 AUG 18 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FBI

Date: 8/4/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, JACKSON (100-980) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (RNA)

Re Jackson airtel to Bureau 8/3/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of a news article appearing on the front page of the Jackson Daily News, 7/31/70, regarding RICHARD HENRY, aka Brother Imari, and the RNA; one information copy of this article is enclosed for Detroit and New Orleans.

[REDACTED] an individual by the name BROTHER IMARI, New Orleans, Louisiana, contacted the office of Jackson Mayor [REDACTED] requesting police protection for his forthcoming visit to Jackson for a three-day conference of the RNA. IMARI stated that he was fearful of losing his life or serious harm may come to him after reading articles in the Jackson Daily News on 7/30 and 31/70.

- CC 836 94D

ENCLOSURE

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 3) (REC-20)
2 - Detroit (Enc. 1) (RM) DON WHEAT DIA
2 - New Orleans (Enc. 1) (RM)
2 - Jackson

HMR:mif

(8)

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RESEARCH SECTION

RACIAL INT. SECT.

56 AUG 18 1970

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

[REDACTED]

The group stated that they wanted to sleep in the lobby of this hotel; however, the owner of the hotel, [REDACTED] ordered the group off of the premises.

The group thereafter returned to the Central Methodist Church, where a number slept; others spent the evening in automobiles, in a bus, rooming houses, and others in private residences.

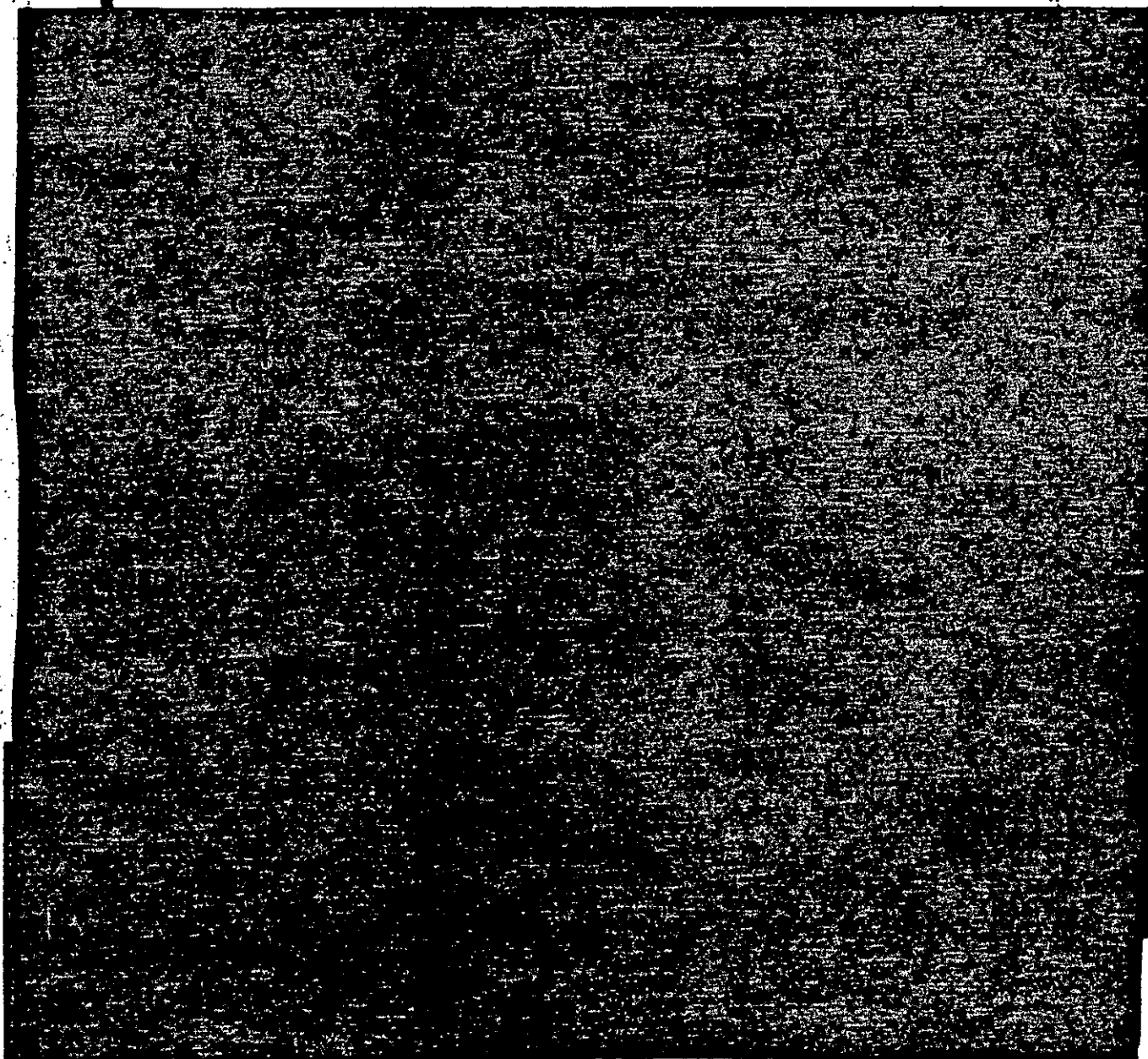
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] RNA, New Orleans, Louisiana, appeared on radio station WOKJ, a predominantly Negro radio station, Jackson, to refute articles that appeared in the Jackson Daily News on 7/30 and 31/70.

[REDACTED]

JN 100-980



Jackson is following developments with source
for indications of any other tangible results as a result

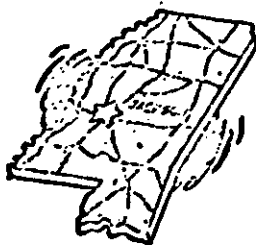
JN 100-980

of news articles which appeared in the Jackson Daily News on 7/30 and 31/70.

Detroit and New Orleans also requested to be alert for additional tangible results attributable to the above news articles.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Covering the CROSS- ROADS



with
Jimmy Ward

We read that His Excellency Brother Imari Abubakari Obadele, alias Richard Henry of Detroit, president or king of the Republic of New Africa, is bringing his tribe and flag to Jackson this weekend to continue his efforts to establish a separate and sovereign state. Bro. Imari says he plans to plant the red, black and green flag of the RNA on Mississippi soil and push out from here to expand his kingdom.

It is assumed that Bro. Imari has found some soft, sandy soil in which to penetrate his staff, for it would require a modicum of sweaty labor to spade his staff into hard clay—a degree of work hardly fitting for a royal head of state.

To launch his new kingdom, Bro. Imari is begging of black people here some assets such as: guns and ammunition, some chickens, milch cows and a few utensils, rather meager equipment with which to create a brand new empire when

such things as jet planes, missiles and ball bearing plants are less than minimal to keep an old country operating these days much less requirements for carving out a new, independent, sovereign republic.

The tendency toward violence among the RNA, as national press reports indicate, could explain why Bro. Imari would want guns and ammunition, but who among Bro. Imari's followers would want to arise early in the morning and gather eggs and milk the cow even by passing the hat under the udder? A cow will not give milk, molasses or honey without a stool and pail and elbow grease—these latter items not listed among Bro. Imari's inventory of revolution.

While not completely new in the eyes of revolutionary-minded individuals and outfits, the Republic of New Africa idea is not expected to attract any followers among serious-minded persons in Mississippi or elsewhere. We wonder if this isn't just another in a series of organizations seeking to set upon the racial issue to lure unsuspecting individuals of their money and try to recruit them into the ranks of troublemakers and fomenters of violence.

It sounds like an outfit that would serve their own entertainment purposes better if they scattered loose marbles on a warehouse floor and had themselves a roller-skating party. In leading such a project, His Excellency would likely end up in a prone position on some hard rocks with wheels flying. Such is the usually deserved fate for would-be dictatorships in this time of history.

If it were not for the bloodshed from confrontations between RNA henchmen and law enforcement officers the entire thing would be ridiculous as well as comic.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 1

JACKSON DAILY NEWS

JACKSON, MISS.

Date: JULY 31, 1970

Edition: HOME

Author:

Editor: JAMES M. WARD

Title: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

Character:

or

Classification: 100-980

Submitting Office: Jackson

☐ Being Investigated

ENCLOSURE

FBI

Date: 8/3/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Airtel

Via _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, JACKSON (100-980) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (RNA)

Re Jackson airtel to Bureau, 7/21/70.

Bureau airtel to Jackson, 7/27/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of a news article appearing on the front page of the Jackson Daily News, 7/30/70, regarding the RNA; one information copy of this article is enclosed for Detroit and New Orleans.

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM) EX-117
 2 - Detroit (Enc. 1) (RM)
 2 - New Orleans (Enc. 1) (RM) REC 45
 2 - Jackson
 TF/pap (8)

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 OTHERWISE.

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

AUG 5 1970

55 AUG 18 1970

Agent in Charge

JN 100-448006

issue distributed in Negro areas of Jackson.



Jackson following developments with sources for indications of any other tangible results as a result of above news article.

Detroit and New Orleans also requested to be alert for any tangible results attributable to the above news article.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

NEW AFRICA

Meeting Set To Form Black South Nation

A violence-prone outfit out of Detroit has scheduled meetings in Jackson this weekend in a move designed to set up an all-black nation in the South, starting with the acquisition of land and plant its flag of an independent nation.

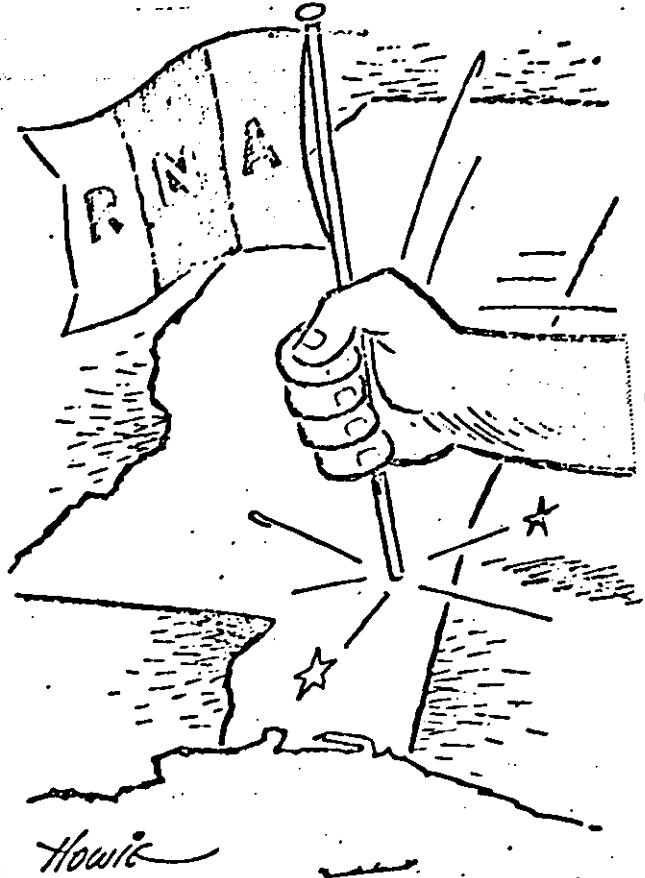
It is the Republic of New Africa which has set upon the ambitious goal of building a "model city" in Mississippi where it will continue to carry out its plan to build a sovereign black nation comprised of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina.

A reputable and responsible Negro businessman in Jackson has advised that national leaders of the RNA plan on holding a national conference called "People's Center Council" in Jackson on the weekend of July 31-Aug. 2. The conference is to be held at a large Negro church on North Parish Street with other related activities planned for the Negro Museum-Temple on Lynch Street on Sunday.

In connection with the conference, national spokesmen of the RNA have recently been in Jackson making contacts with various Negro militants and some normally reputable and responsible Negro businessmen, ministers, youth leaders and others.

The conference allegedly is a forerunner of RNA goals to move their entire national headquarters into Mississippi in August.

A responsible Negro source, fearing racial difficulties with this new group of outsiders and concerned of further polarization of the races, cites the considerable flow of RNA literature



(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 1

JACKSON DAILY NEWS

JACKSON, MISS.

Date: JULY 30, 1970
Edition: HOME
Author:
Editor: JAMES M. WARD
Title: REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

Character:

or

Classification: 157-9599
Submitting Office: 100-980
Jackson

☐ Being Investigated

ENCLOSURE

100-448006-1911 56

in the Jackson area recently and has sought assistance to inform the public of the conference and its leaders who solicit guns, ammunition and other arms.

The RNA was founded in the spring of 1968 in Detroit where it announced the plan to establish a sovereign Black Nation in five Southern states—but not confined exclusively to these states borderwise. It would also thrust into black population areas of Texas, Arkansas, North Carolina and even into Washington, D.C. The founding convention received considerable publicity and the Jackson Daily News published at that time the map of the proposed new nation.

Advance publicity listed Mississippi Rep. Robert Clark of Ebenezer, the only Negro member of the House of Representatives, as a featured speaker. Following publicity of the nature of the Detroit convention Clark failed to appear.

At that time RNA elected Robert F. Williams who fled the U.S. in 1961 after being indicted in North Carolina for kidnapping as "president-in-exile." Williams later drew national publicity for his anti-American writings and radio programs beamed to the South from Cuba.

Only a few days ago the 1971 Appropriations Report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation was released and on Page 72, testimony by Director J. Edgar Hoover said regarding the RNA:

"The RNA is the organization whose members at their second national convention of a church in Detroit, Mich., became involved in a shootout with Detroit police which resulted in the death of one policeman and the wounding of another."

Press reports, including that in the Daily News, told of how gunmen killed Patrolman Michael Czapski and wounded Patrolman Richard Wozniak when they were fired upon by members of the RNA's Black Legion

which was guarding the church rented by the RNA for its meeting.

Since December, 1969, leaders of RNA have been two brothers, Milton Henry and Richard Henry, both of Detroit. In the spring of 1970 there was growing rivalry within the ranks of RNA's "royalty" and Richard Henry who goes by the name Brother Imari Ahubakari Obadele became the chief and displays his photo in RNA publications as a sort of tribal boss on a throne at national headquarters in New Orleans.

Bro. Imari plans to move from New Orleans to Jackson and set up his empire on land claimed to have been already acquired. Publicity material distributed in Jackson quotes Bro. Imari from New Orleans as saying of his proposed new Capital City of RNA: "We are going to need arms while we are there, and we are calling on all Black people to supply us with such things as carribans (sic), ammunition, money to buy chickens, axes, three pickup trucks, dairy cows, two dump trucks, two station wagons and gasoline generator power plants. The Republic plans to build living quarters for their soldiers and a community center quickly afterwards..."

The President of the Republic of New Africa also calls this an "Era of Self-Defense" and calls upon "monied white friends" to supply truckloads of ammunition for stockpiling in black communities.

Informed Negro sources recall that three supporters of RNA groups in New Orleans were arrested in Jackson in early July, 1969, in a stolen car with a fully-loaded carbine on the seat and other weapons. All were convicted on various Federal charges following their local arrests and subsequently turned over to Federal authorities.

Local sources cite this as another case whereby the RNA's visits could result in racial difficulties. The source also doubts RNA's claim of having acquired land upon which to plant its red, black and green flag in Mississippi.

However, one source said he viewed the plea by Bro. Imari for cows and chickens as a propaganda play beamed at well-meaning religious or tax-exempt foundations. But the appeal for guns and ammunition is "a plea for trouble," the source said.

Authorities in this area are aware of the planned "People's Center Council" as sponsored by RNA.

A reputable spokesman for Jackson area blacks suggests well-meaning citizens of the community avoid groups with past records of violence, shootouts with police and with those who promote stockpiling of arms and encourage guerrilla warfare.

FBI

Date: 8/5/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, JACKSON (100-980) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (RNA)

Re Jackson airtel to Bureau 8/4/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of a news article on the front page of the Jackson Daily News 8/4/70 regarding recent RNA three-day conference, Jackson, Mississippi; one information copy of this article is enclosed for Detroit and New Orleans.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM)
 2 - Detroit (Enc. 1) (RM)
 2 - New Orleans (Enc. 1) (RM)
 2 - Jackson

HMR:mif

(8)

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REC 18

4 AUG 8 1970

6 AUG 1970
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent

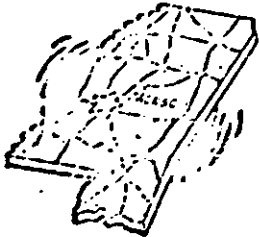
U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1965 O - 344-000 (11)

JN 100-980

Detroit and New Orleans are requested to be alert for any tangible results attributable to the above news article.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Covering the CROSS- ROADS



with
Jimmy Ward

They came, they saw, there was at least one shot fired, but they didn't conquer.

Gratefully, as a result, Mississippi and four other Southern states are still safe for democracy and hold their normal spot under the red, white and blue flag of the United States of America.

As you may have read last week, His Excellency Brother Imari Abubakari Obadele, alias Richard Henry of Detroit, came to Jackson with a small band of about 25 disciples of the Republic of New Africa to claim this territory as their very own and they were here to solicit guns and ammunition, tractors, some chickens and cows and other items to begin a new black, sovereign nation, planting their red, white and green flag here in Jackson and moving out to conquer Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, at least.

Bro. Imari, his assistants and some 50 local delegates and/or curiosity-seekers held a few stormy sessions that revolved around extended debate among themselves — such questions as violence or non-violence as a means of operations. They discussed publicly they had received.

While the Jackson meeting produced little results, it raised some questions:

Did not one of the top NRA leaders shoot himself in the thigh during a rumo-like session, suffering a non-serious flesh wound?

Was he not treated by a local physician who patched the fellow up and told him to go his quiet way?

Perhaps the NRA ended its sessions a bit more non-violent than earlier reports indicated. For if a top leader can't check the chamber of his handgun without causing a startling explosion, then goodness knows what might have happened had unsuspecting Mississippi Negroes responded to the solicitation for heavier arms, i.e., carbines and bigger.

Representatives of NRA did appear on a local radio show, we are told, to reveal their ambitions and platform for a new government here in Dixie.

However, it's good the RNA national convention got in and out of town with a minimum of people congregated. With a top leader allegedly so careless with his gun that he shoots himself, had there been a big crowd of Jackson followers gathered some people might have been hurt.

Bro. Imari and his delegates, a number from Massachusetts and elsewhere, are returning homeward, their new, independent, sovereign nation still a royal dream.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 1

JACKSON DAILY NEWS

JACKSON, MISS.

Date: AUGUST 4, 1970

Edition: HOME

Author:

Editor: JAMES M. WARD

Title: REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

Character:

or

Classification: 100-930

Submitting Office: Jackson

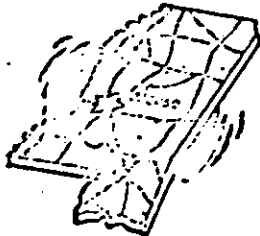
☐ Being Investigated

ENCLOSURE

59

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Covering the CROSS- ROADS



with
Jimmy Ward

They came, they saw, there was at least one shot fired, but they didn't conquer.

Gratefully, as a result, Mississippi and four other Southern states are still safe for democracy and hold their normal spot under the red, white and blue flag of the United States of America.

As you may have read last week, His Excellency Brother Imari Abubakari Obadele, alias Richard Henry of Detroit, came to Jackson with a small band of about 25 disciples of the Republic of New Africa to claim this territory as their very own and they were here to solicit guns and ammunition, tractors, some chickens and cows and other items to begin a new black, sovereign nation, planting their red, white and green flag here in Jackson and moving out to conquer Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina, at least.

Bro. Imari, his assistants and some 50 local delegates and/or curiosity seekers held a few stormy sessions that revolved around extended debate among themselves — such questions as violence or non-violence as a means of operations. They discussed publicly they had received.

While the Jackson meeting produced little results, it raised some questions:

Did not one of the top NRA leaders shoot himself in the thigh during a rumu-like session, suffering a non-serious flesh wound?

Was he not treated by a local physician who patched the fellow up and told him to go his quiet way?

Perhaps the NRA ended its sessions a bit more non-violent than earlier reports indicated. For if a top leader can't check the chamber of his handgun without causing a startling explosion, then goodness knows what might have happened had unsuspecting Mississippi Negroes responded to the solicitation for heavier arms, i.e., carbines and bigger.

Representatives of NRA did appear on a local radio show, we are told, to reveal their ambitions and platform for a new government here in Dixie.

However, it's good the RNA national convention got in and out of town with a minimum of people congregated. With a top leader allegedly so careless with his gun that he shoots himself, had there been a big crowd of Jackson followers gathered some people might have been hurt.

Bro. Imari and his delegates, a number from Massachusetts and elsewhere, are returning homeward, their new, independent, sovereign nation still a royal dream.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 1

JACKSON DAILY NEWS

JACKSON, MISS.

Date: AUGUST 4, 1970

Edition: HOME

Author:

Editor: JAMES M. WARD

Title: REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

Character:

or

Classification: 100-930

Submitting Office: Jackson

☐ Being Investigated

60

ROUTE 1 ENVELOPE

SAC, New Haven (157-785)

August 19, 1970

REC-124

EX-109 Director, FBI (100-448006)-1909

1 -
1 -

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 8/7/70.

The cogent arguments set forth in relet to dispute the 10-point program of the Black Panther Party (BPP) have considerable merit as a means of rebutting BPP propaganda. However, prior to approving this counterintelligence technique, you are requested to resubmit your "Like It Is" argument for point number 9. Since the 9th point of the 10-point program, referring to the right to trial by a jury of one's "peers" is a valid point, standing on its own, it is not believed that a direct refutation of the point is warranted. Instead, you may want to submit an oblique refutation based on BPP distortion of this point as exemplified by BPP "kangaroo trials" of suspected police informants.

You are requested to promptly resubmit argument number 9 to the Bureau for consideration, after which you will be advised of the Bureau's decision in this matter. You are reminded to take no counterintelligence action in this regard without prior Bureau authority.

MAILED 24
AUG 19 1970

COMM-FBI

JDH:ekw
(5)

NOTE: As a means of offsetting BPP propaganda, New Haven has submitted 10 arguments to refute the 10 points of the BPP platform. New Haven suggests the arguments be set forth in a

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

AUG 26 1970

AUG 26 1970

ROOM [] TELETYPE UNIT []

Letter to SAC, New Haven
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

flyer so distribution can be made at the discretion of those field divisions having active BPP chapters. Point 9 of the BPP program reads, "We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black Communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States." New Haven's argument to this point is as follows: "According to Random House, the definition of peers is 'one of the same rank, quality, etc; an equal; match.' On this point I am not too clear and if one thinks about it the point is an ambiguous statement. Only a criminal would want to be judged by another criminal, and as the point states, 'a jury of their peer group.' If this point is trying to say that the jury should be all black, again the Party has not defined the Constitution of the United States as it does read. There is no mention of race when it says, 'tried by a jury.'" It is not believed New Haven's argument in this case would persuade individuals sympathetic to the aspirations of the Negro community. After New Haven has resubmitted the requested material, all 10 arguments will be set forth for approval prior to authorizing this counter-intelligence action.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8/7/70

FROM: SAC, New Haven (157-785)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

A review of possible counterintelligence against the BPP suggests possibility of attacking the propaganda used by this organization to show it and immediately counter it with another interpretation of the idea portrayed. Enclosed for the Bureau is proposal counteracting or opposing the ten point program, which appears in all newspapers and pamphlets put out by the BPP. This counterintelligence, if approved by the Bureau, can be used in all locations where the BPP is active.

The distribution of this flyer would be left to the discretion of all offices that have active chapters or splinter groups of the BPP.

(2)-Bureau (Encl.)
1-New Haven
ING/lrf
(3)

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OTHERWISE.

REC- 61

EX-109

AUG 11 1970

RESEARCH SECTION

RACIAL INT. SECT.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

63

LET'S COMPARE THE TEN-POINT PROGRAM OF THE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY WITH "LIKE IT IS"

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

"LIKE IT IS"

1. We want Freedom.

1. Ask any member how long he or she can be out of contact with the Party without being disciplined. "No freedom in the Party." Ask [REDACTED] about Freedom!

2. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

2. The destiny of the Black Community is to be ruled by the Party. Have you ever told a Black Panther "no" when they asked something of you?

3. We want full employment of our people.

3. The words "our people" is the catcher. This really means the people of the BPP. Have you ever been helped by a BPP member to get a job? No! Ask any member the last time he tried to get a job for himself. THE ANSWER WILL BE, "I GOT ONE," "I WORK FOR THE MOVEMENT."

4. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black Community.

Webster's New World Dictionary states that a capitalist is one who has capital. With that definition, the BPP is a capitalist organization, for the gross income of that organization would far exceed your wildest dreams. Where does this money come from? You and me. Ever get any money from the Party? Who is robbing who?

5. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

4. The finance of the BPP is out of sight, yet dig the pads that are set up as headquarters. You will say that it is the best they can do, or it is symbolic. Good, check the labels in the clothes of the leaders and then go price that "front" in the clothing store. Have you ever asked a Panther to aid in getting a pad, and all you get is double talk but no help.

199
64

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society.

We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service.

7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people.

5. That old Uncle Tom talk, "I ain't got no good means of obtaining an education. The party or no one else can say that a good education is only for whites. Ask to go to any school, and you can go. This is a great talking point for persons who have not gone to school any longer than was necessary.

I say to this part of Point 5, Right-on, but I can't say Right-on to the Party that takes kids that can't think for themselves on any subject, but play and drill into them to kill. Don't take my word for it, drop by some times and lend an ear. You be the judge.

6. Let's call a club a club and believe it, a club will be used by all countries, at odds with the U. S. on any person in the U. S. Man, because you are black, don't exempt you if we lose!

7. Again, we have a standard cry of most persons who are known to break the law, and violent object to being apprehended and punished for same. In today's work-a-day world the word brutality has had its fair share of abuse. Any time one is arrested and carried in for questioning the standard vanguard cry is "police brutality." Is it really brutality? Or just a means of drawing attention? Then put Black in front of it, and everyone gets up in arms.
- 105

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black Communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

8. As has often been stated by those in authority or rule of Black Panther Party, we are in existence only to serve the people. Now I ask you does this statement release all Black men from prisons sound as though they are looking out for the best interests of the community? As in any judicial system certain people that may be innocent, white or black, may be sentenced unjustly, but the statement "free all" is a little irrational.

9. On this point I have but one question as is the question in the minds of many in the community when the Panthers state that all Blacks brought to trial should be tried by their peers. Are they referring to the type of trial that was held for their former brother member [REDACTED]

The point of one being tried by his peers is just and a good law, but a kangaroo court by anybody is a kangaroo court. If [REDACTED] were here, I'm sure they could tell you "like it is."

10. Every item that is mentioned in point ten can be obtained by any individual that has the gumption to obtain same. The poetic statement used in point ten which implies black separatism closely parallels that of another archaic group better known as the KKK. Black Panthers, Kluxers and any other group that feels that the races can live alone should only look at any country in the world and try to pick one that you find only one kind of individual or race. Impossible, isn't it?

To the Panthers and any other group tell it like it is and not like it ain't!

156

7. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

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To the Panthers and any other group tell it like it is and not like it ain't!

69

UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 8/20/70

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (157-438) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Minneapolis letter to Bureau, dated 5/28/70.

Since referenced letter, there has been no Racial oriented violence in the Minneapolis Division. There has been no information developed indicating activity among any Black Nationalist type hate groups including the Black Panther Party, although from time to time correspondence has taken place between individuals in both Minneapolis and St. Paul and Black Panther Party Headquarters relative to subscriptions to the Black Panther Party newspaper.

The Minneapolis Division is constantly alert for information concerning any Black Panther Party activity and for Counter Intelligence measures to combat this group.

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EX-100

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Minneapolis
DTD:cmn
(4)



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

100-100-07
AUG 27 1970

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8/20/70

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Charlotte letter to Bureau, 5/30/70.

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

At the present time Charlotte has two proposals for future operations, one of which is continuation of the "News of Interest to the Black Citizens of Winston-Salem" newsletter which will attempt to discredit [REDACTED]

The other is a new series of leaflets under the guise of the "Committee of Twenty-five" which is to be a more responsible black group and set forth the true aims and purposes of the BPP. In addition [REDACTED]

been having marital difficulties and have apparently stayed together only to [REDACTED]. A proposal is forthcoming in this regard in order to discredit [REDACTED]

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

It is noted that Charlotte has had two Bureau-approved mailings of the "News of Interest to Black Citizens of Winston-Salem". These newsletters, mailed to the vicinity of the BPP headquarters in Winston-Salem, have caused some consternation among the BPP members as they cannot determine the source of this letter which

EX-117

2-Bureau (100-448006) (RM)
2-Charlotte (157-6109)

REC-57

THG:fcf
(4)

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RESEARCH SECTION

RACE INT. SECT.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



5010-108

is attacking them. In addition, due to the split in the BPP group at Winston-Salem, Charlotte, on Bureau authority, has [REDACTED]

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

In connection with previously mentioned newsletter, information has [REDACTED]

the people as to their true status. [REDACTED] being depicted as a parasite and avaricious businessman and was of the opinion that these letters would keep the people from taking [REDACTED] seriously and decrease his financial donations.

In a continuation of this, the additional counter-intelligence proposals concerning letters have been submitted.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

It is noted that [REDACTED] against whom a portion of the counterintelligence proposals were directed, is no longer in North Carolina, therefore, a different direction will be used due to his departure and will not be directed at the fact that outside leadership was sent into North Carolina.

Mr. C. D. Brennan

8/7/70

C. Moore

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA
RACIAL MATTERS

This is to advise of highly successful counter-intelligence action against the Republic of New Africa (RNA) which disrupted a regional conference and eliminated support by Jackson, Mississippi, residents.

The RNA, a violence-prone, black extremist, separatist organization, is split into two factions. The more militant faction scheduled a regional conference from 7/31/70 to 8/2/70 in Jackson where it would like to establish a RNA group. Jackson Division was granted Bureau authority on 7/27/70.

The violent nature of RNA which appeared on front page of 7/30/70 issue of "Jackson Daily News," the only state-wide evening newspaper in Mississippi.

This publicity, the evening before the conference began, jolted RNA leaders and Negro representatives from Jackson were shocked to learn RNA was such a violent group. A heated argument erupted as to what the real goals of the RNA were and individuals from Jackson indicated they could not support RNA if it promoted violence. Scheduled agenda was shelved and discussion was virtually confined to the newspaper article. The last day's activities were cancelled as Negro Masonic Temple refused to allow RNA to use their facility due to group's prior participation in violence as exposed in the newspaper article.

ACTION:

For information.

157-9079

1 - 100-448006 (Counterintelligence)

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

NOT RECORDED
145 AUG 25 1970

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979 (8) 1970

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8/7/70

FROM : SAC, New Haven (157-785)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReNew Haven letter 6/2/70.

Flyers that had previously been proposed by this office have been roughly formatted and numerous methods to mass produce them have proven unproductive.

The Bureau is requested to consider possibility of taking a photograph of the format and making a printers mat of same.

If approved, the formats will immediately be forwarded to the Bureau for production.

(2-Bureau (RM)
1-New Haven
IMG/lrf
(3)

A-110

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REC-53

12 AUG 11 1970

RESEARCH SECTION-02

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New Haven (157-785)

August 21, 1970

Director, FBI (100-448006)-1907
REC-127 EX-117

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurlet 8/7/70.

Your counterintelligence recommendation has considerable merit but is not being approved for implementation at this time in view of the large volume of public source material being circulated showing Black Panther anti-Semitism.

You are requested to resubmit your recommendation in three months enclosing the samples of the leaflets proposed by you for review by the Bureau and consideration for Bureau approval at that time.

You are reminded that no counterintelligence action can be undertaken without prior Bureau authority.

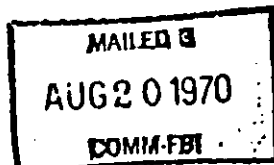
WDN:ekw
(5)

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NOTE:

In public appearances at Jewish and Christian-related schools in New England, Black Panther Party (BPP) officials have denied that the BPP is anti-Semitic. To rebut this falsehood, New Haven has suggested photographs of prominent BPP members be placed on leaflets with various anti-Semitic and un-Christian slogans made by them in the

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Rm.
Holmes
Gandy



NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

11
AUG 26 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

73

Letter to SAC, New Haven
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO:

past for distribution. New Haven recommends that the slogans be authenticated by referring to the BPP publication in which the particular slogan initially appeared. It is believed this recommendation should not be adopted at this time since public source material is currently being circulated in New England through the press showing the BPP to be anti-Semitic.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 8/7/70

FROM : SAC, New Haven (157-785)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Bureau letter to Boston, cc New Haven, 7/29/70.

It is the suggestion of the New Haven Office that Christian organizations and universities be made cognizant of the anti-semitic and un-Christian attitude of BPP members utilizing a previously Bureau-approved method. To be more specific, it is suggested that photographs of prominent BPP members be placed on leaflets with various anti-semitic and un-Christian slogans used by them in the past. In addition, to further authenticate the leaflets, reference should be made to the newspaper or pamphlet in which a particular slogan appeared initially.

Upon Bureau approval of above, leaflets will be produced by the New Haven Office and forwarded for further Bureau approval.

(2) Bureau (RM)
1-New Haven
IMG/lrf
(3)

REC-53

AUG 11 1970

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RESEARCH SECTION
PROCESSED & SECT.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

75

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

8/6/70

CODE

NITEL

TELETYPE

1 -
1 -

TO SACS BALTIMORE
CHICAGO
DETROIT
LOS ANGELES
NEWARK
NEW HAVEN
NEW YORK
PHILADELPHIA
SAN FRANCISCO
SEATTLE
WFO (BY SPECIAL MESSENGER)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE
GROUPS BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), RM, (BUDED AUGUST FOURTEEN
NEXT)

EX-100 REC-86

100-448006-176

RELEASE FROM JAIL ON BOND OF HUEY P. NEWTON, LEADER AND
FOUNDER OF BPP, OFFERS EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FOR EFFECTIVE
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE. ALTHOUGH NEWTON WAS INCARCERATED FOR
ALMOST THREE YEARS DURING WHICH TIME BPP GREW FROM LOCAL
BLACK EXTREMIST GROUP TO NATIONAL ORGANIZATION WITH INTER-
NATIONAL TIES, IT IS APPARENT NEWTON PLANS TO TAKE OVER OPERATI

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1 - 105-165706 (BPP)

ABF:dr1

(7)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
DeLoach
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Wynn
Tele. Room
Holmes

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒

70 AUG 18 1970

76

TELETYPE TO SACS BALTIMORE
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM;
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
100-448006

OF BPP. THIS COULD LEAD TO INTERNAL CONFLICTS PARTICULARLY BETWEEN NEWTON AND DAVID HILLIARD, WHO HAS RUN THE BPP IN HIS OWN WAY FOR PAST YEAR, BETWEEN NEWTON AND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, WHO HAS CONTROLLED INTERNATIONAL AND IDEOLOGY PHASES OF BPP. NEWTON, AS TOP MAN NOW AVAILABLE, WOULD BE LOGICAL PERSON WITH WHOM LOCAL BPP GROUPS WOULD FILE COMPLAINTS OVER PAST AND PRESENT GRIEVANCES WITH NATIONAL LEADERSHIP.

ALL OFFICES CONSIDER COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROPOSALS TO INITIATE AND/OR EXPLOIT EXISTING DISSENSION WITHIN BPP INCLUDING CONFLICTS BETWEEN NEWTON AND OTHER LEADERS SUCH AS HILLIARD AND CLEAVER OVER BPP POLICY, IDEOLOGY, DAY-TO-DAY OPERATION, FINANCES AND PERSONAL MATTERS.

SUBMIT SUGGESTIONS AND PROPOSALS BY AIRTEL TO REACH BUREAU BY AUGUST FOURTEEN NEXT. BUREAU WILL REVIEW SAME AND ISSUE APPROPRIATE INSTRUCTIONS. TAKE NO ACTION WITHOUT PRIOR BUREAU AUTHORITY.

NOTE: In view of Newton's release and the existing potential for causing dissension within BPP at top level, we should solicit positive proposals for such action from offices in which main BPP organizations are active.

F B I

Date: 7/31/70

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4054)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
(BPP)
RM

Re Bureau airtel dated 5/15/70; San Francisco airtel dated 5/22/70, to the Bureau; and Los Angeles airtel to the Bureau dated 5/27/70.

Referenced Los Angeles airtel proposed an interview of [REDACTED] in Los Angeles, California, to evaluate [REDACTED] degree of alienation from the BPP and her potentation as a source.

[REDACTED] and has not returned to Los Angeles, San Francisco is requested to attempt to interview [REDACTED] as recommended in referenced Los Angeles airtel.

REC-56

EX-110

-1905

- 1-34
- 2 - Bureau (AM) (RM)
2 - San Francisco (AM) (RM)
2 - Los Angeles

RWH/vdb
(6)

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OTHERWISE.

17 AUG 4 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

AUG 14 1970

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date: 7/30/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
 FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4054)
 RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE MATTERS
 BLACK PANTHER PARTY
 RACIAL MATTERS

Re Los Angeles airtel to the Bureau dated 5/18/70,
 Bureau airtel to Los Angeles dated 5/27/70, and San Francisco
 letter to the Bureau dated 6/8/70.

Material furnished by Bureau routing slips of
 6/26/70 and 7/7/70, and testimony of the Director before the
 House Sub-Committee on Appropriations on 3/5/70, were furnished
 on 7/28/70.

_____ reviewed the material and expressed his
 appreciation to the Bureau. _____ indicated that _____ would like
 to make a series of the material especially in the area of the
 white liberal contributing to the Black Panther Party (BPP).
 _____ plan for this series calls for its possible airing after
 _____ returns from vacation which _____ takes from 8/1/70 through
 8/31/70.

_____ understood the
 confidential nature of this matter and that scripts and
 preparations of any broadcast would be on _____ own initiative.

REC 18

EX 106

- 2 Bureau (RM)
 1 - San Francisco (info) (RM)
 2 - Los Angeles

WJN/dmb
 (5)

AUG 3 1970

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 OTHERWISE.

5 AUG 12 1970

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

LA 157-4054

[REDACTED] concerning the material and the topic involved and it may be anticipated that upon [REDACTED] return, [REDACTED] will be devoted to the BPP.

The Bureau will be kept advised. .

F B I

Date: 7/31/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109) (P)
 SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 7/16/70, and
 Bureau airtel to Charlotte dated 7/22/70.

As authorized in Bureau airtel dated 7/22/70, the
 anonymous newsletter was prepared and 100 copies mailed on
 7/29/70, at Winston-Salem, N. C. The Bureau and interested
 offices will be kept advised of the positive results achieved.

EX-110

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (RM)
- 2 - Charlotte

REC-40

THG:cbw
 (5)

AUG 4 1970

Approved: _____

55 AUG 11 1970 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

81

FBI

Date: 7/28/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE)

Re Bu airtel to NY, 7/3/70; NY airtel to Bureau,
7/17/70; Bu airtel to NY 7/23/70.

Enclosed herewith for Atlanta is one copy of a letter
signed "Concerned" and enclosed herewith for Knoxville is one
copy of a letter signed "A Friend".

For the information of Atlanta and Knoxville the Bureau
instructed NY to submit a counterintelligence proposal designed
to negate SNCC's attempt to obtain a grant from the Inter-
Religious Foundations for Community Organizing (IFCO), 475
Riverside Drive, NYC, to set up a "farm project" in the vicinity
of Knoxville, Tenn. Equipment to be used on this "Farm Project"
is to be purchased in the Atlanta, Ga. area.

By referenced airtel dated 7/17/70, NY proposed that
the enclosed letters be sent to IFCO so that it would cast doubt
in the minds of those IFCO personnel who deal with SNCC as to the
sincerity of SNCC members in actually working their proposed
"Farm Project".

Bureau approval on the above proposal was granted to NY
by airtel dated 7/23/70, and NY was instructed to furnish copies
of enclosed letters to the Atlanta and Knoxville Divisions:

- 2- Bureau (RM)
- 2- Atlanta (Encls. 1) (RM)
- 2- Knoxville (Encls. 1) (RM)
- 1- New York (43)

JLL:tf
(8)

1- Supv. #43

REC 53

EX 105

JUL 29 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

NY 100-161140

New York was instructed to advise Atlanta and Knoxville that the enclosed letters are to be mailed from their Field Divisions and addressed to:

"President"
Inter-Religious Foundation
For Community Organizing,
475 Riverside Drive,
New York, New York

Knoxville should mail its letter on or about August 4, 1970, and Atlanta should mail its letter on or about August 12, 1970, in order to provide additional security and realism for this counterintelligence technique.

Atlanta and Knoxville should insure there mailings are in such a way as to prevent this operation from being traced to the Bureau.

EX 7/29/70
cb

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Laboratory Work Sheet

Re: RACIAL MATTERS,
COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS,
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE,
(VISUAL AIDS)

File # 100-448006
Lab. # PC-F0494 CC

Examination requested by: FBI Seattle (100-29488)

air. 7/24

Examination requested: Chem Anal (gen Chem)

Date received: 7/27/70 bumail

Result of Examination:

Examination by: GORMLEY

7/10/70

Q1 - Found in capsule - an
irrefragable (H.C.) solution of
substance in liquid.

Specimens submitted for examination

Q1 Capsule

- Q1 - (a) This irrefragable fluid in
capsule
(a) Dist. → xylene (distilled by IR)
(iii) evap. of xylene to the point
where a white crystalline solid
(iv) Inf. material - about 100T
(v) Amorphous - gelatin like substance.

84



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

Date: August 12, 1970

To: FBI, Seattle (110-29488)

Re: RACIAL MATTERS,
COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
BLACK PANTHER PARTY GROUPS,
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE,
(VISUAL ID)

J. Edgar Hoover
John Edgar Hoover, Director

FBI File No. 100-440000 - 1721
Lab. No. 100-440000-1721

EX-105

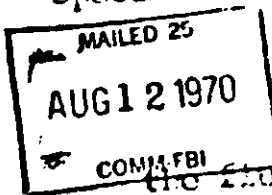
REC-140

Examination requested by: Seattle
Reference: Airtel 7/24/70
Examination requested: Chemical analyses

Remarks:

////

Specimens received:



1 Capsule

Chemical and instrumental examinations were made of the fluid contained in the capsule, specimen 01. The fluid is a water-emulsifiable concentrate of the insecticide DDT in xylene.

The capsule and its contents appeared to be an item which was prepared commercially, and intended for use in preparing oil-in-water emulsions of DDT. Items similar to this capsule have not previously come to the attention of the Laboratory.

Specimen 01 was consumed in the examination.

No Laboratory report is being submitted. ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

~~Specimen 01 was consumed in the examination.~~

JLG/vr (6)

ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

80 AUG 25 1970

TELETYPE UNIT

L. Smith
7/24/70

W. J. ...

FBI

Date: 7/24/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
ATTN: FBI LABORATORY

FROM: SAC, SEATTLE (100-29488)(P)

SUBJECT: RACIAL MATTERS
COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(VISUAL AIDS)

Re Seattle letter to Bureau, dated 6/24/70.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is one (1)
hermetically sealed plastic capsule with a rubber band.

7-27-70
Case Report retained in Lab
for Lab action & report

██████████ Seattle Fire Department,
advised on July 24, 1970, 500 such capsules, all with rubber
bands, were found by children in a plastic bag at a public
playfield located at 136th S.W. and S.W. Des Moines Way,
Seattle, Washington.

The capsules have an unknown liquid inside which
burns and emits an intense black smoke. The liquid has
an odor similar to Naptha gas lighter fluid and diesel fuel.The source and purpose of the capsules is unknown
but ██████████ suggested it is possibly used in firebombing matters.

EX-109
REC-57
10 AUG 5 1970

4 - Bureau (RM)
(1 - package)(RM)
(1 - ATTN: ██████████ Racial Section)
3 - Seattle
(1 - 170-147A)
CRS:bfr
(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.Approved: 95M/K
Special Agent in ChargeSent OTHERWISE. M Per 86

SE 100-29488

The Laboratory is requested to determine the nature of the substance contained in the capsule and of the capsule itself and advise of any known uses or whether similar capsules have been in evidence elsewhere nationally. Information regarding possible uses and method of use is desired. Results of the examination should also be made available to [REDACTED] of the Racial Section. The capsule may be destroyed upon completion of the examination.

Photographs have been taken of the capsule and are being retained in the Seattle Division.

Q

I. IR - ~~was~~ compared to IR of known m.p.c. xylene →
very similar

II. Contents of capsule emptied into vial and ~1 cc.
evaporated in evaporating dish →

III. Capsule shell cleaned and dried

Soluble in acetone, alcohol, chloroform, ethylene di-
chloride

Partially soluble in H_2O

IV. Biuret test for proteins → positive

V. Burned on a piece of platinum → odor like burning
hair or fingerprints

30/70

1. Solubility of crystalline residue as follows:

Diethyl ether - sol.
Ethyl ether - sol.
EtOH - sol.
MeOH - sl. sol.
Xylene - sol.
Hexane - sol.
H₂O - Insol.
dil HCl - insol.
dil NH₄OH - insol.
sat KOH - sol.
cold conc H₂SO₄ - insol

2. X-ray diffraction could not be matched with any compounds on record. Known Benzoyl peroxide was run and found to be totally different.

8/3/70

1. Sodium fusion run on solid residue of the capsule and subjected to elemental analysis with the following results:

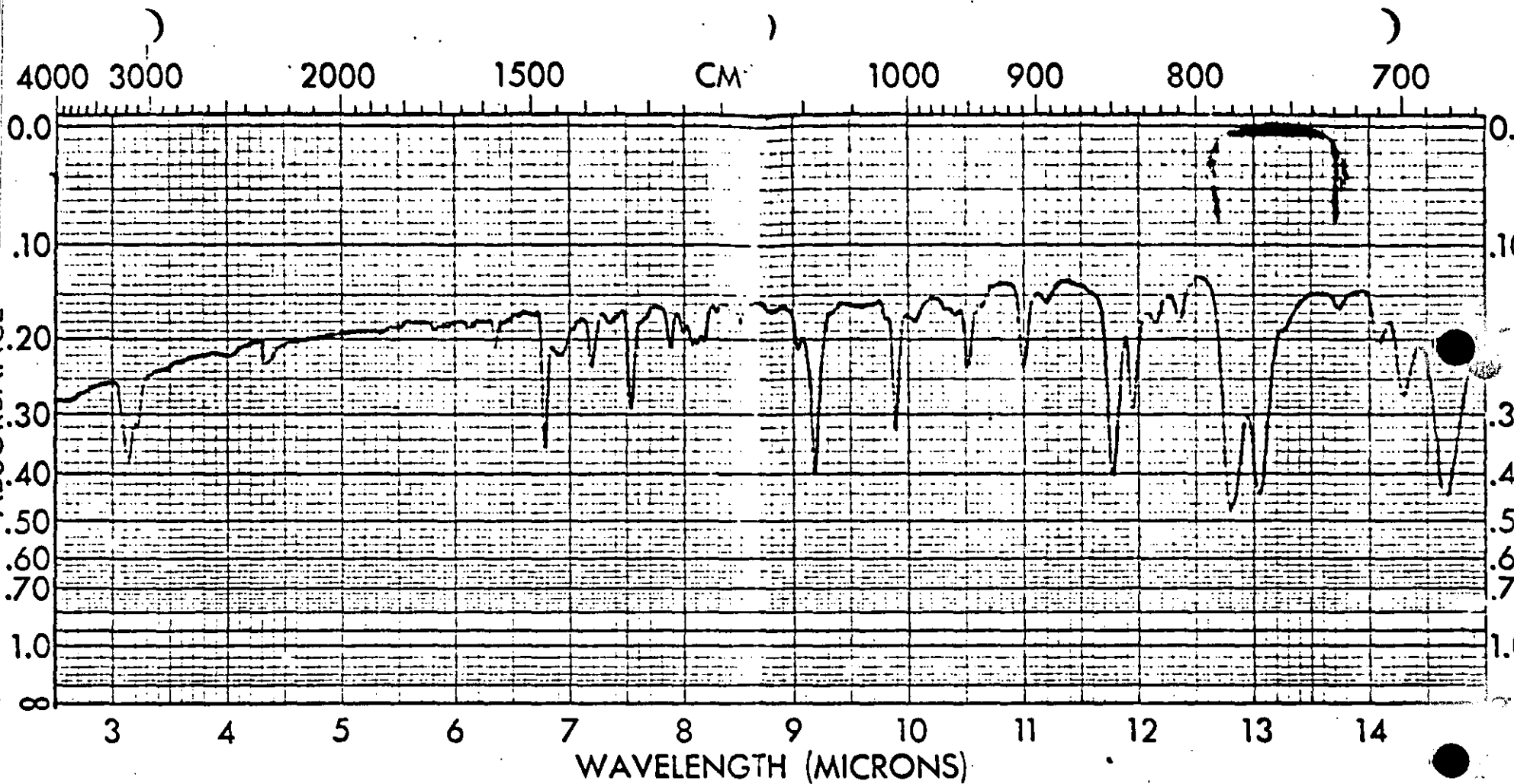
A. Sulfur Lead Acetate test — negative
 Na Nitroprusside test — negative

B. Nitrogen Brown ring test — negative
 Benzidine & CuSO_4 — negative
 NaS — negative

C. Halogens

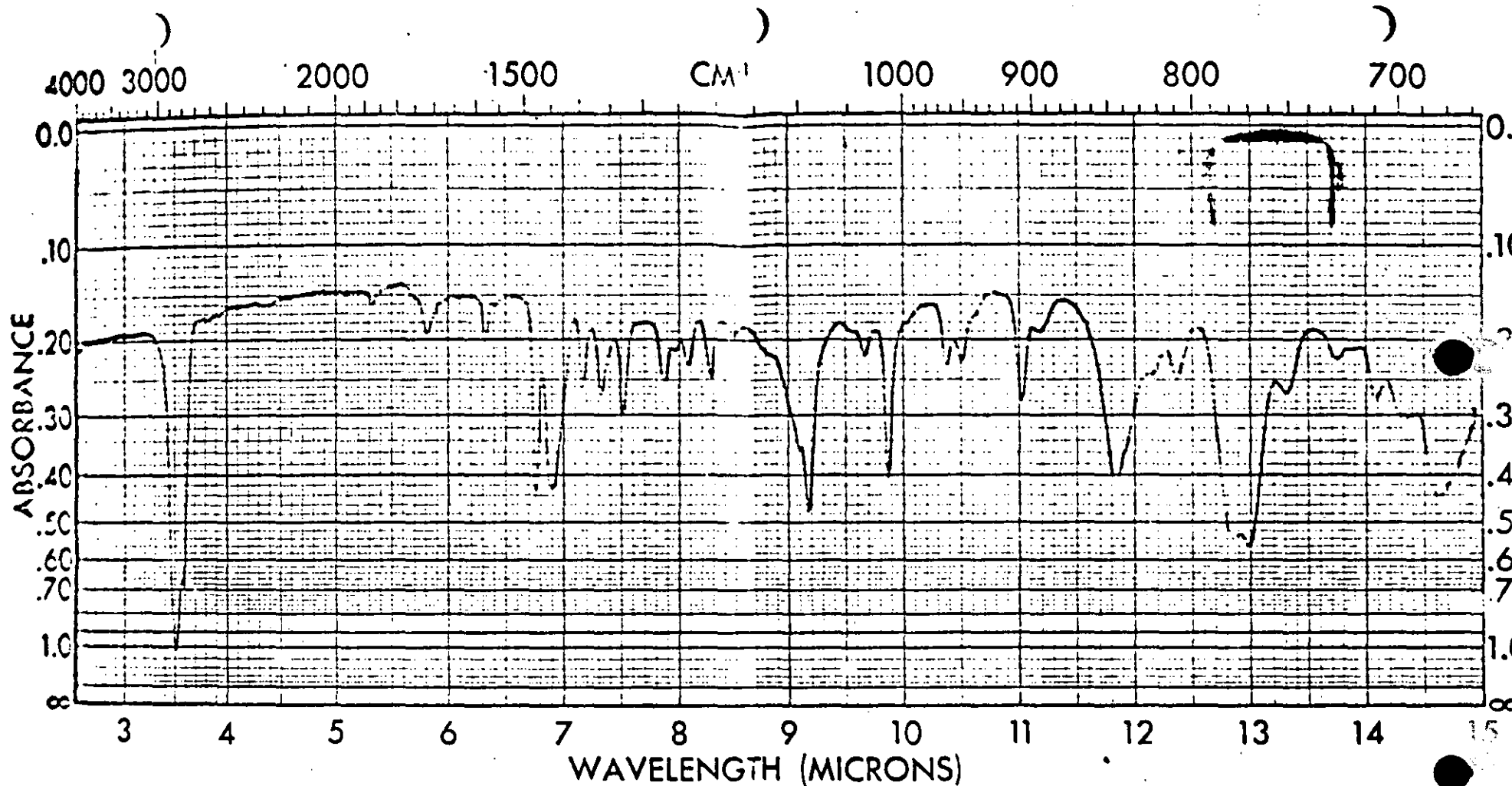
1. Addition of AgNO_3 produces heavy white precipitate.

2. Na Hypochlorite & CCl_4 test was negative for both Br and I.



SPECTRUM NO. _____	ORIGIN _____	LEGEND _____	REMARKS _____
SAMPLE <u>PC-F 0494</u>	_____	1. _____	<u>Red ether extract is</u>
_____	PURITY _____	2. _____	<u>crystals obtained in</u>
<u>5</u>	PHASE <u>KBr</u>	DATE <u>8/3/70</u>	<u>1/16 paper</u>

SAMPLE



SPECTRUM NO. _____	ORIGIN _____	LEGEND _____	REMARKS _____
SAMPLE _____		1. _____	
PC - F 0494	PURITY _____	2. _____	
has melted into	PHASE NaCl	DATE 8/3/70	
100% cell	THICKNESS 0.1	OPERATOR VS	

SAMPLE

7/31

PC-F0494

Solid material from xylene:

Soluble in CHCl_3

Soluble in CCl_4

Capsule material:

Not noticeably soluble in hot water;
softens + swells - some brownish
coloring leached out.

Readily soluble in hot dilute (5N) HCl .

" " " " " KOH .

93

PC-F0494

Test for chlorinated hydrocarbons: (pyridine + conc. KOH) gave a faint pink color.

PC-F 044, Summary.

8/4/70

VB

1. Capsule: Readily soluble in ^{dilute} base; soluble in hot dilute acid; swells & softens in hot water.

2. Content:

A. Solvent. Identical IR to that of xylene (mixed isomers).

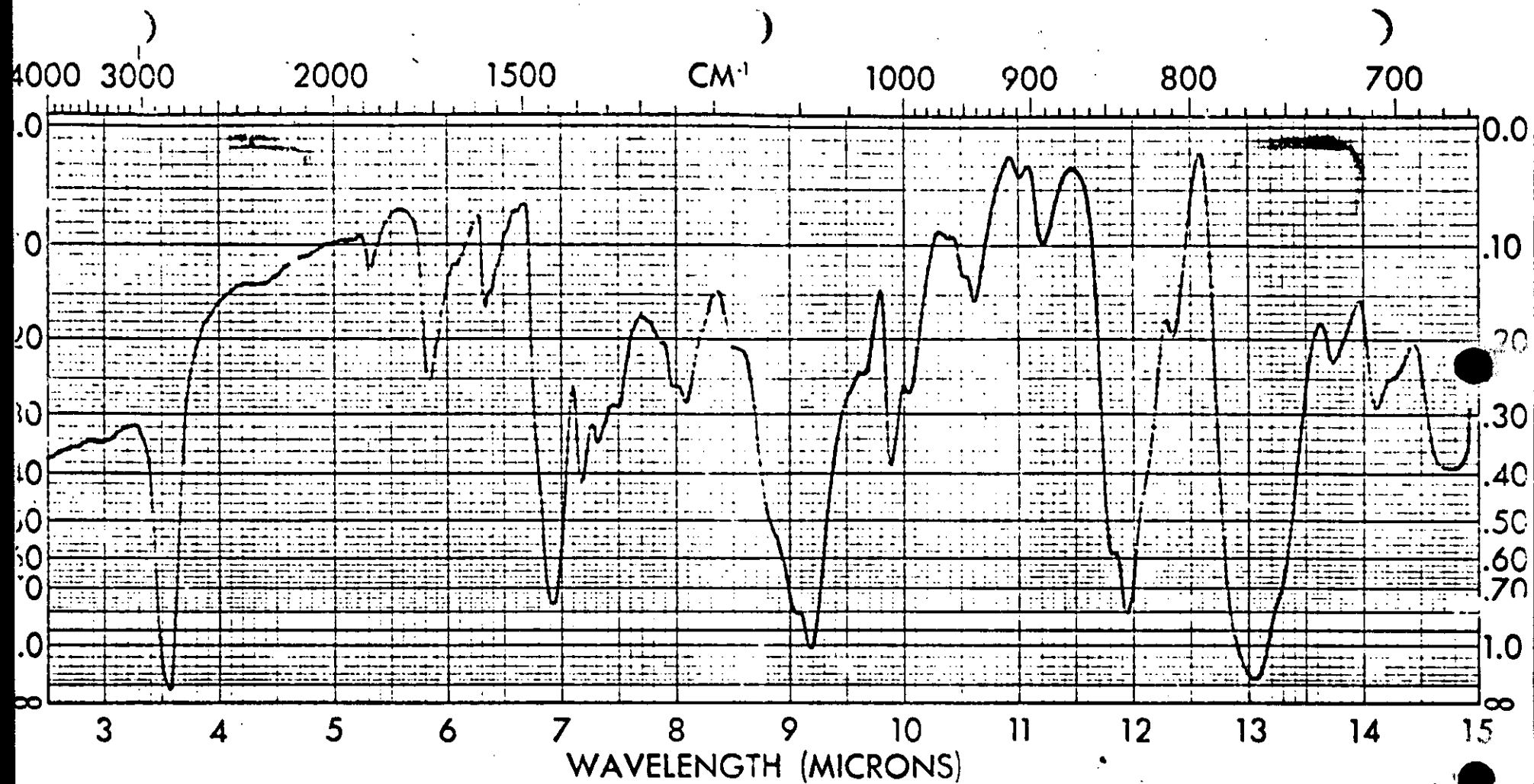
B. Solid material:

Insoluble in water, acid & alkali; slightly soluble in EtOH & MeOH; freely soluble in other organic solvents (pet. ether, benzene, CCl₄, etc.)

Chemical tests indicate the presence of chloride; no nitrogen, sulfur or other halogens.

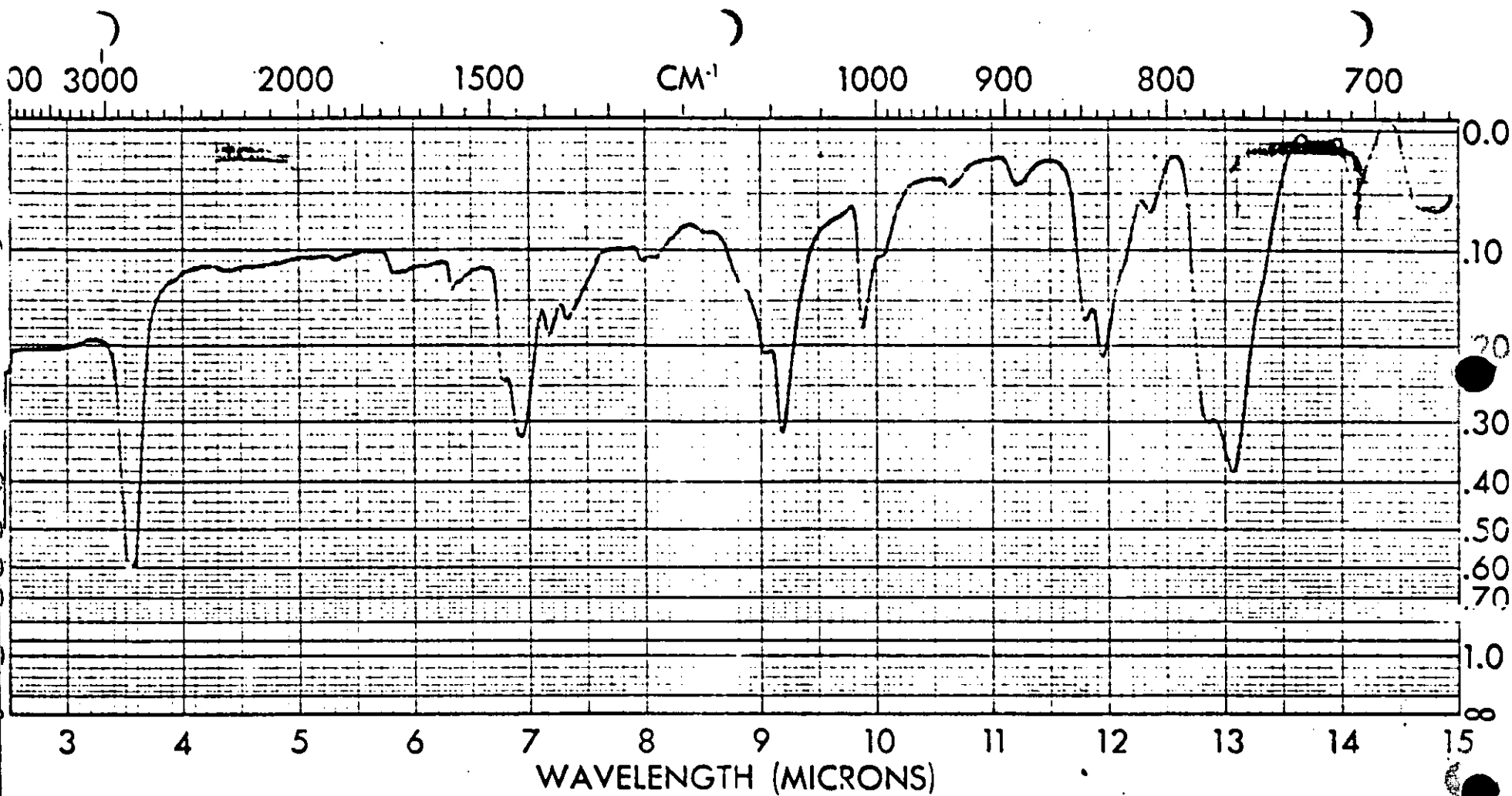
IR of slightly impure material corresponds well with that of DDT.

X-ray diffraction spectrum matches well with that of DDT.



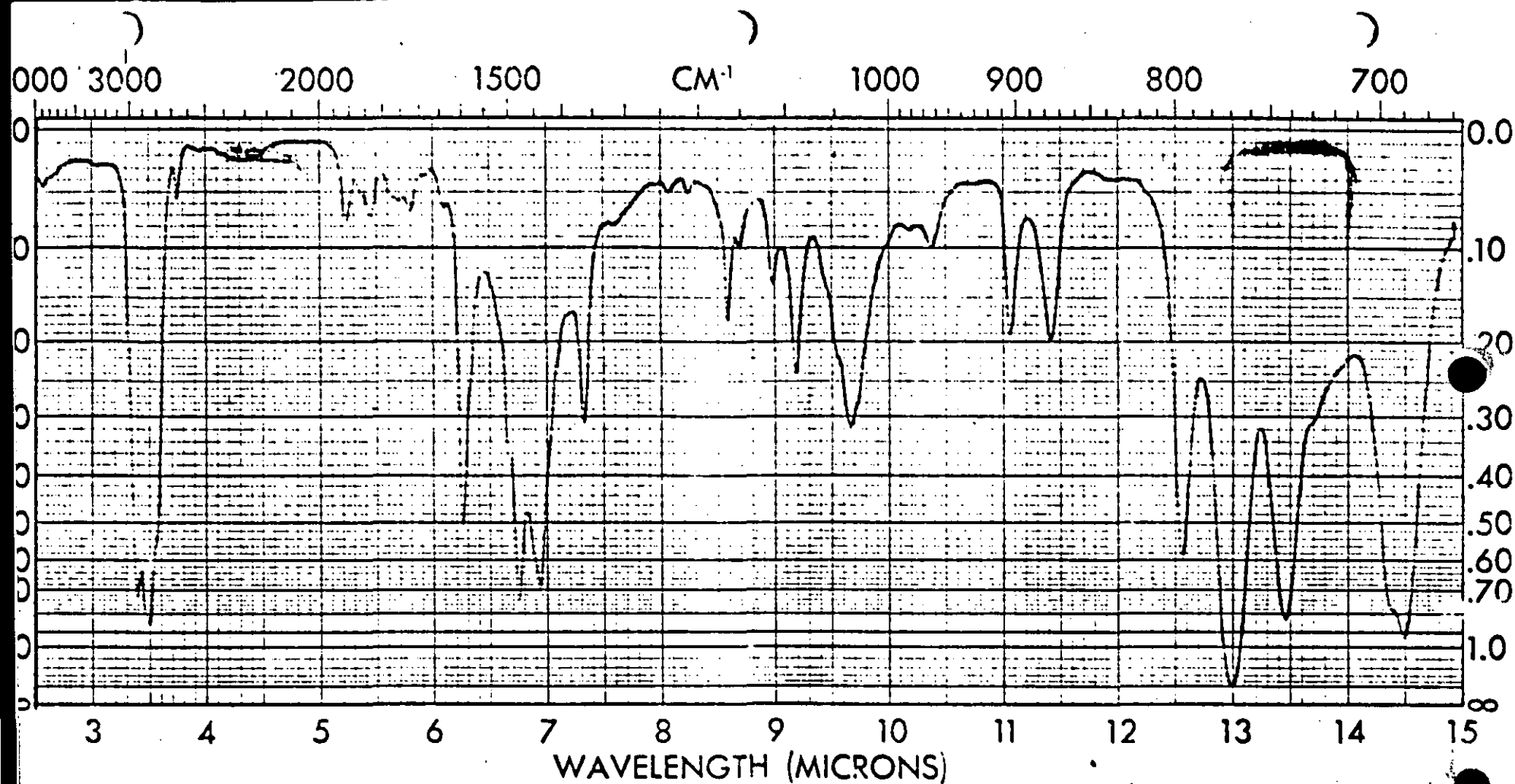
SPECTRUM NO. _____	ORIGIN _____	LEGEND _____	REMARKS _____
SAMPLE _____	_____	1. _____	_____
PC F-0494	PURITY _____	2. _____	_____
Xtals, washed with	PHASE <u>NaCl</u>	DATE _____	_____
9/16 likely probably contaminated	THICKNESS _____	OPERATOR _____	_____

SPECTRUM NO. _____
SAMPLE



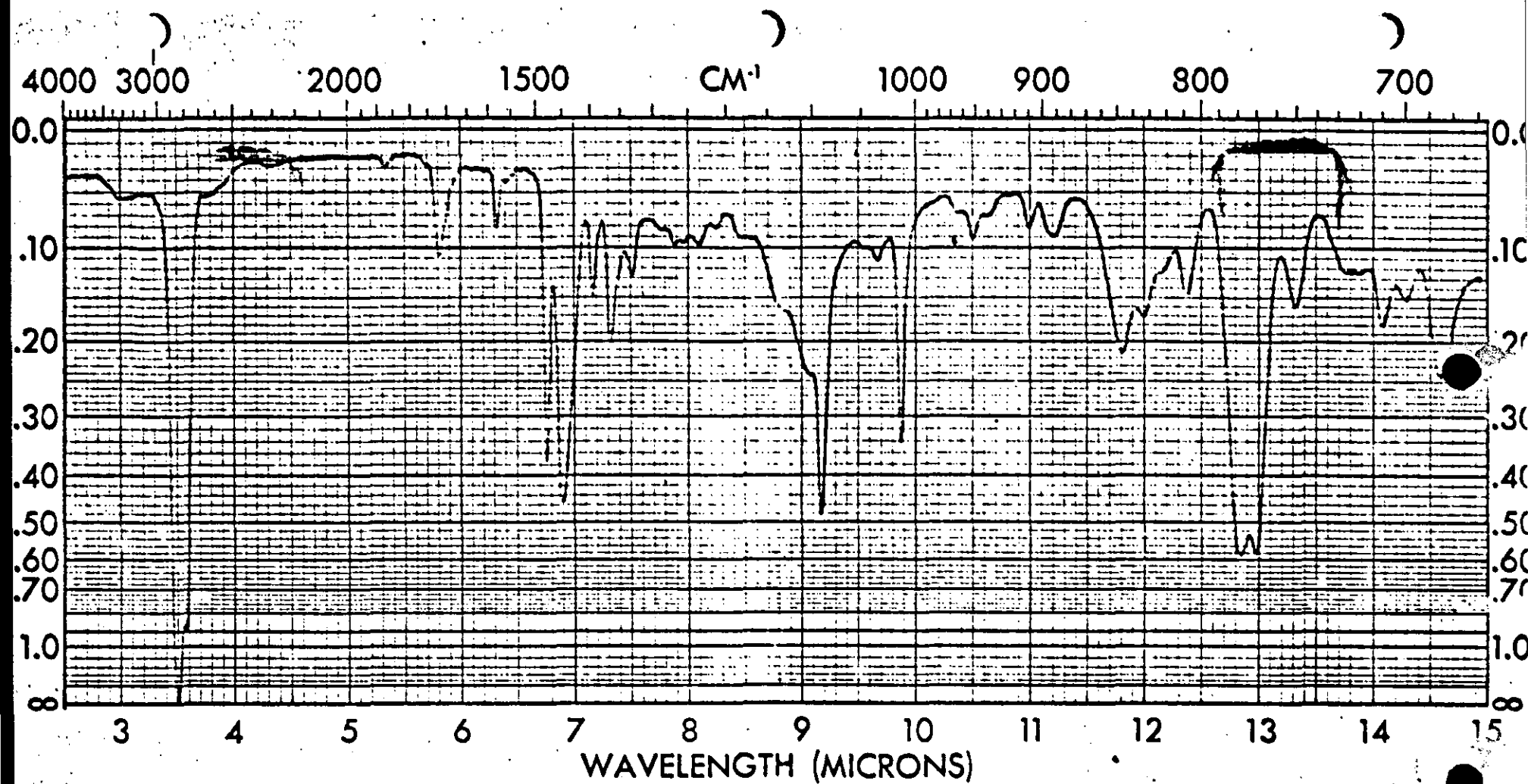
SPECTRUM NO. _____	ORIGIN _____	LEGEND _____	REMARKS _____
SAMPLE PC-E0494		1. _____	probably
re-crystallized from	PURITY _____	2. _____	contaminated
ETOH & H ₂ O	PHASE _____	DATE 7/31/70	with xylene
11	THICKNESS _____	OPERATOR _____	

SPECTRUM NO. _____
SAMPLE



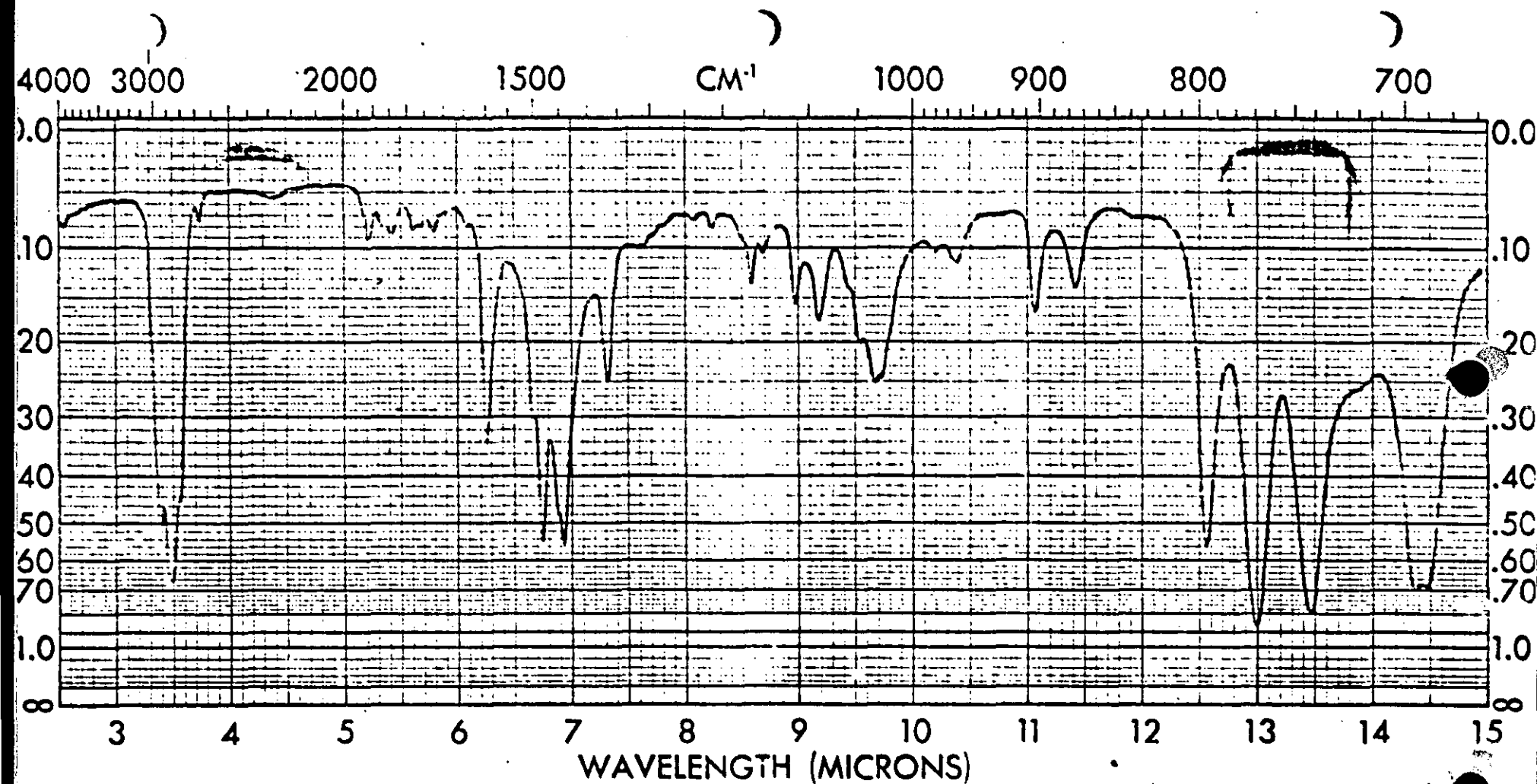
SPECTRUM NO. _____	ORIGIN <u>skill</u>	LEGEND _____	REMARKS _____
SAMPLE <u>Acetone</u>		1. _____	
<u>Xylene</u>	PURITY _____	2. _____	
<u>R</u>	PHASE <u>liquid</u>	DATE <u>7/29</u>	
	THICKNESS <u>standard</u>	OPERATOR _____	

SPECTRUM NO. _____
SAMPLE



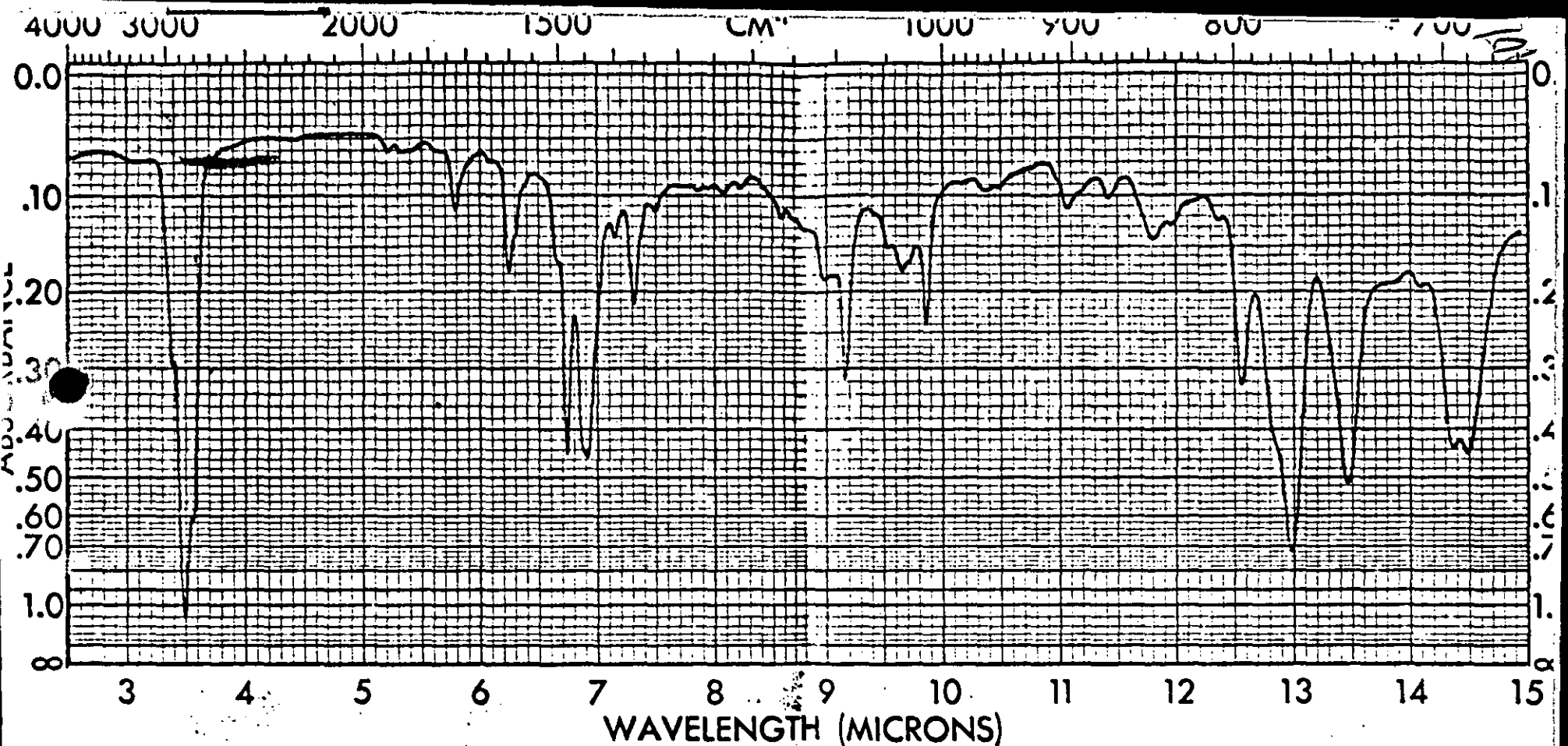
SPECTRUM NO. _____	ORIGIN _____	LEGEND _____	REMARKS _____
SAMPLE <u>Q, REF 1004</u>		1. _____	
<u>residue after</u>	PURITY _____	2. _____	
<u>distillation</u>	PHASE <u>NaCl</u>	DATE <u>7-1</u>	
<u>100</u>	THICKNESS <u>1.0 mm</u>	OPERATOR _____	

SAMPLE

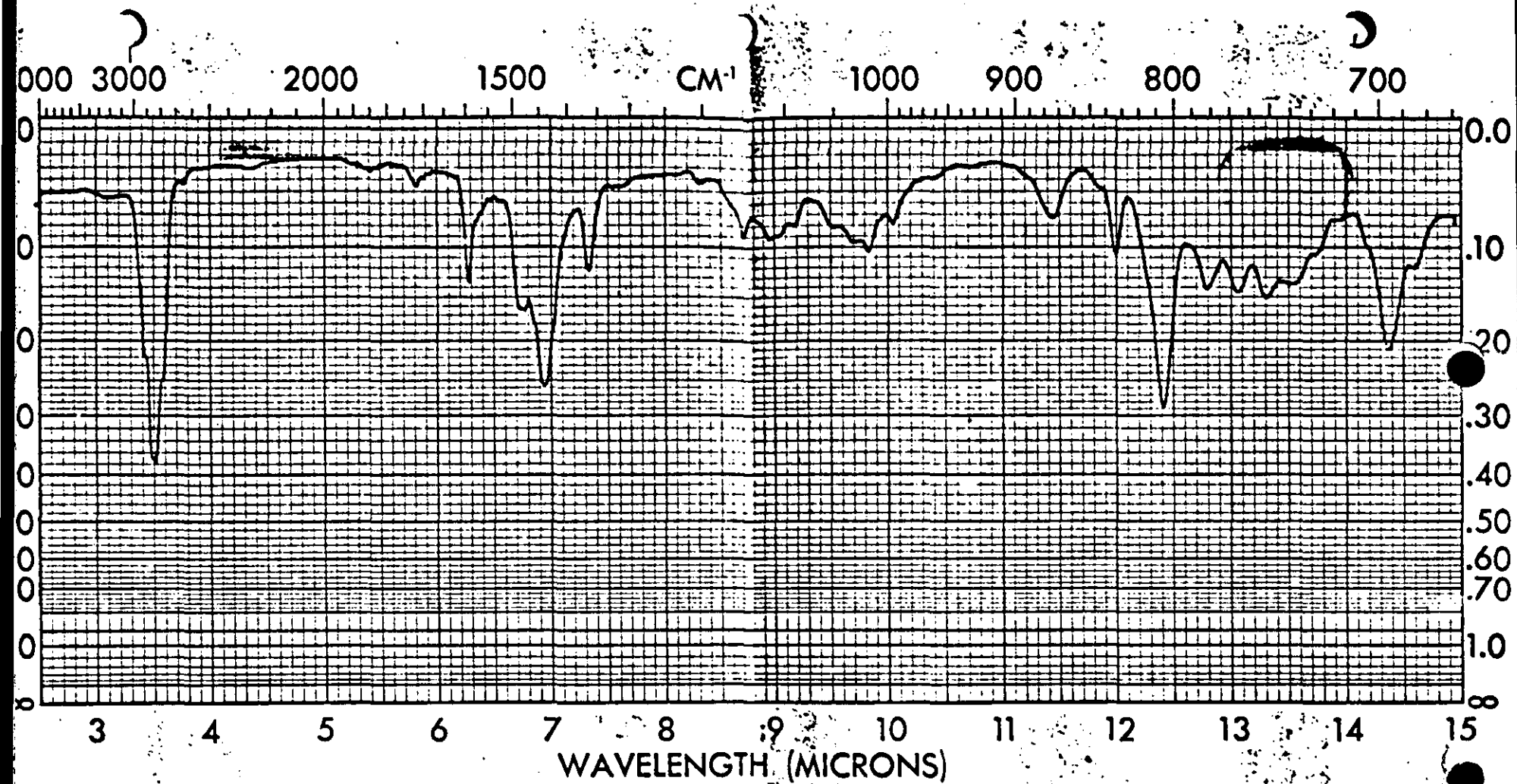


SPECTRUM NO.	ORIGIN	LEGEND	REMARKS
SAMPLE <u>PC-F0494</u>		1.	
<u>Q₁ distilled</u>	PURITY	2.	
<u>from liquid in</u>	PHASE <u>NaCl</u>	DATE <u>8/3/70</u>	
<u>capsule</u>	THICKNESS <u>sandwich</u>	OPERATOR	

SAMPLE

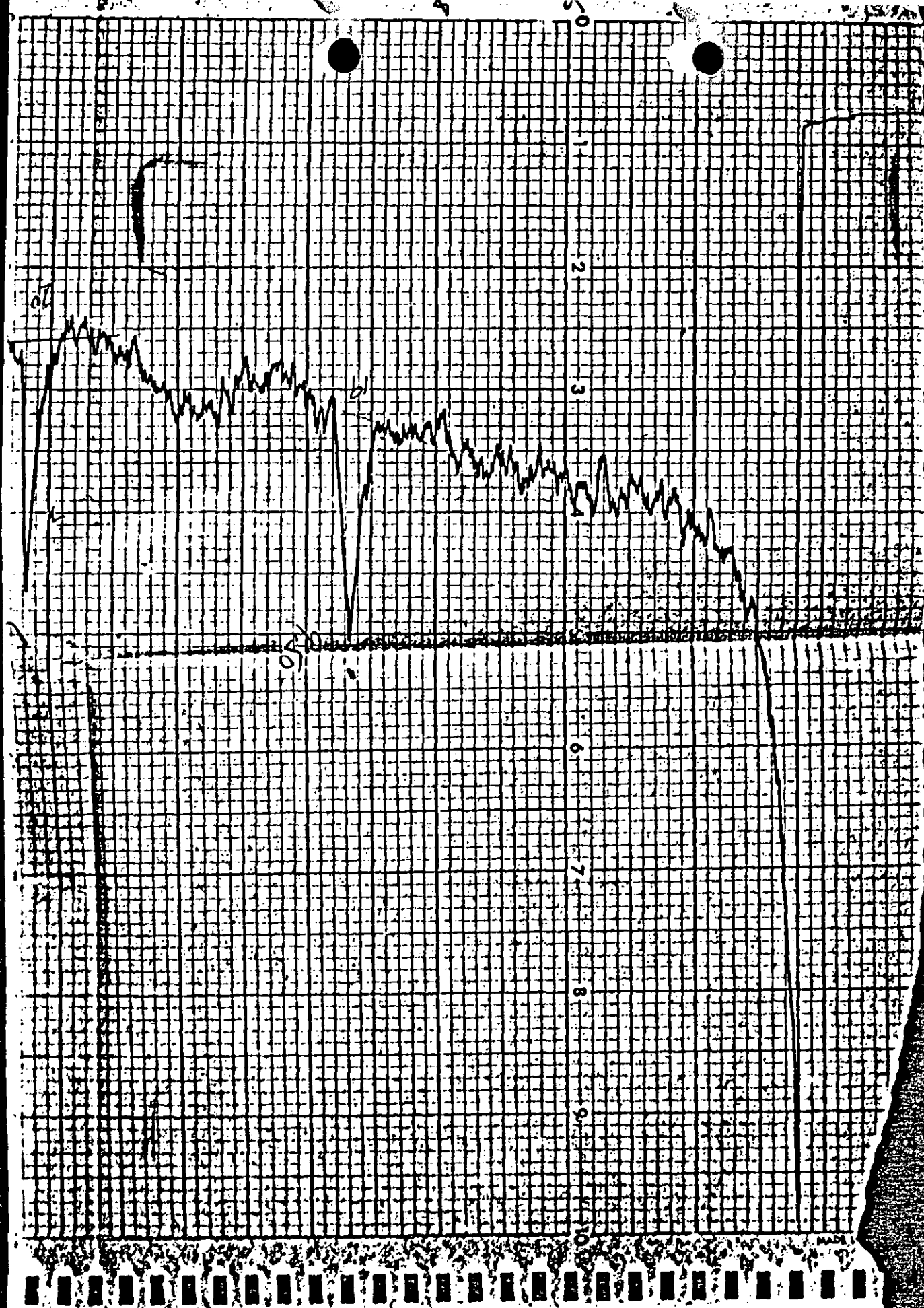


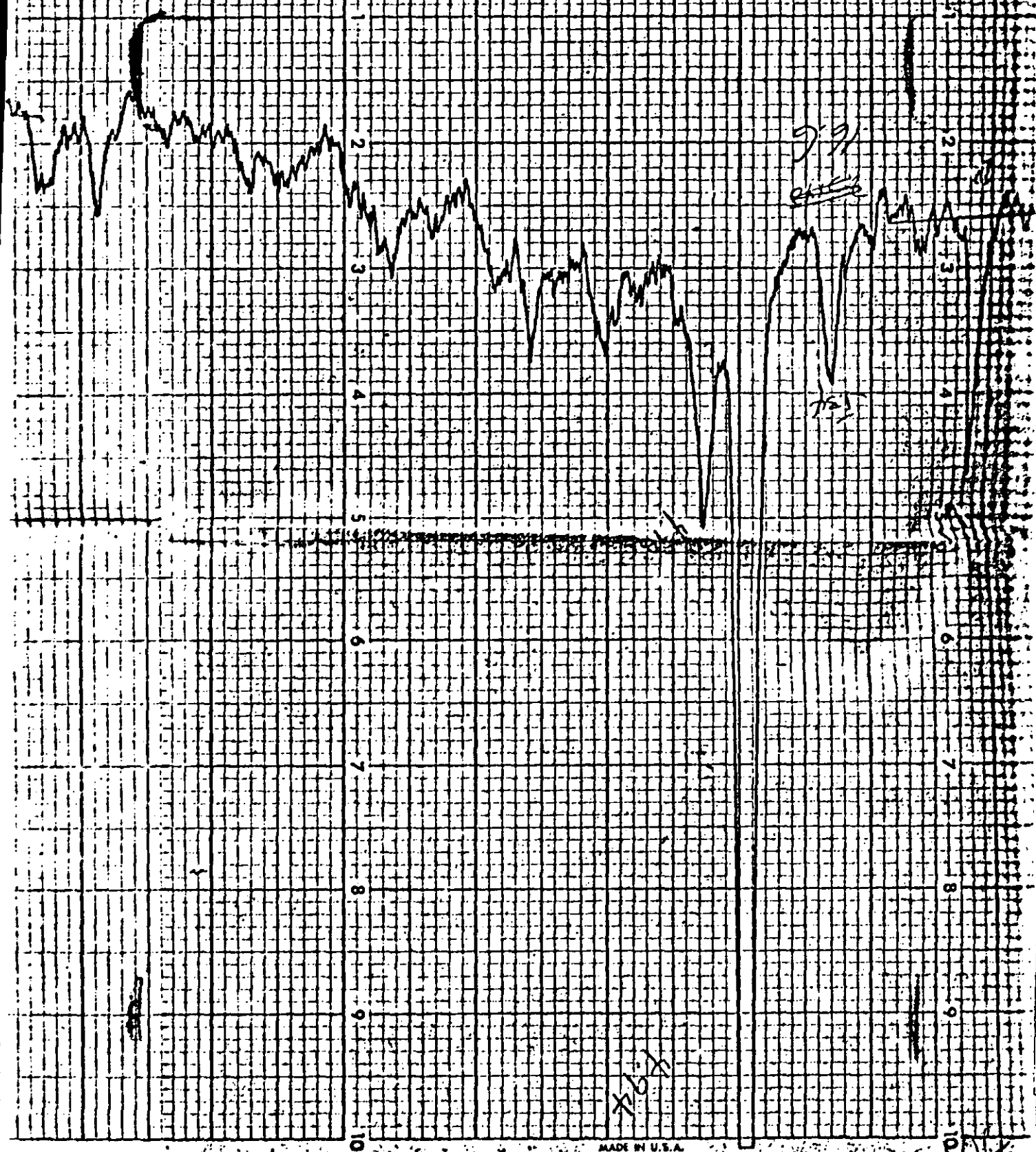
SPECTRUM NO.	ORIGIN	LEGEND	REMARKS
SAMPLE Q, PC-F0494		1.	
	PURITY	2.	
	PHASE <i>NaCl</i>	DATE <i>7/29</i>	
	THICKNESS <i>sandwich</i>	OPERATOR	

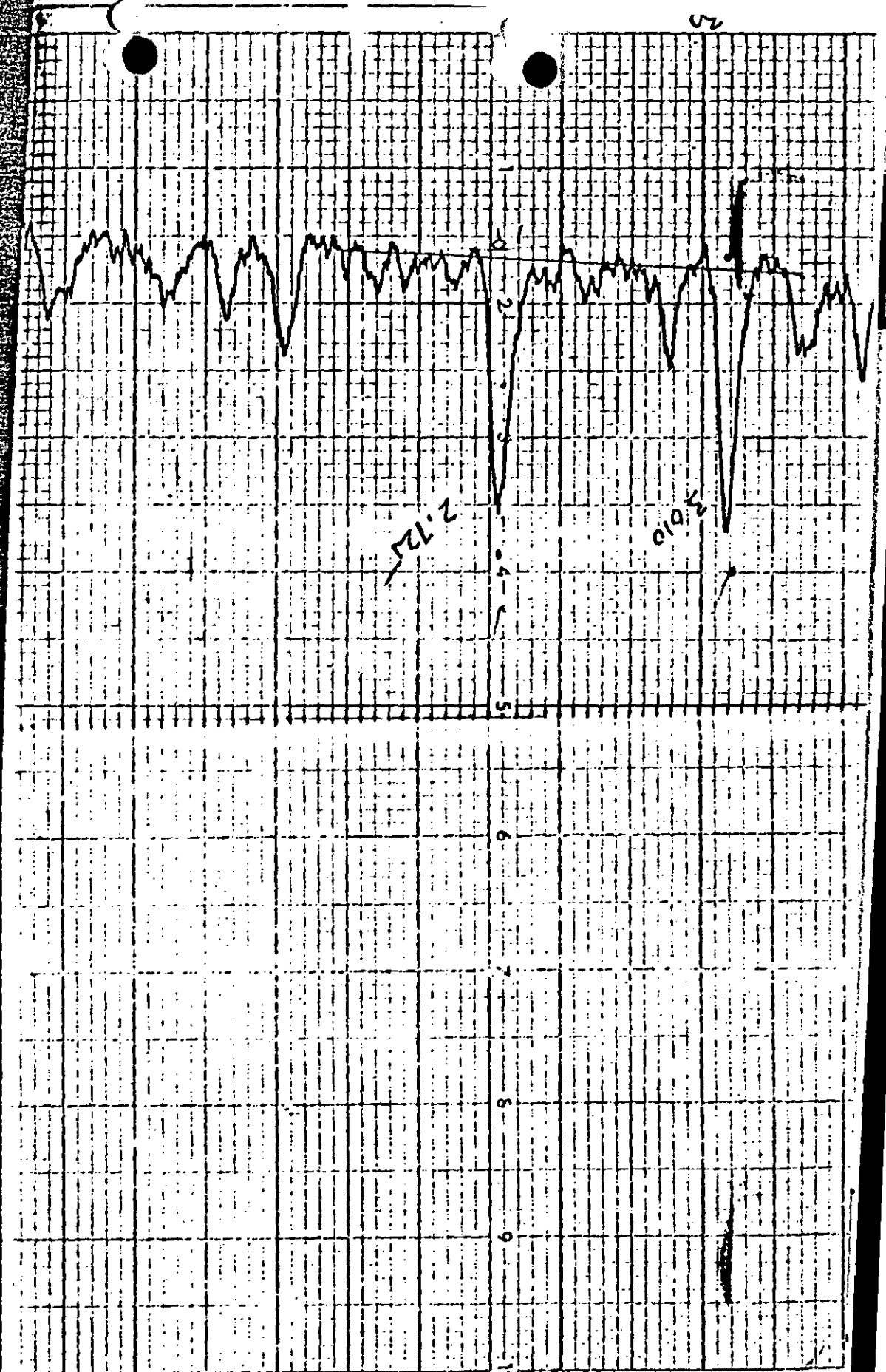


SPECTRUM NO. _____	ORIGIN _____	LEGEND _____	REMARKS _____
SAMPLE _____		1. _____	off shelf
Heavy Aromatic Naphtha	PURITY _____	2. _____	
SG	PHASE NaCl	DATE 7/31/70	
From Vickers Petroleum	THICKNESS sandwich	OPERATOR VS	

SPECTRUM NO. _____
SAMPLE _____

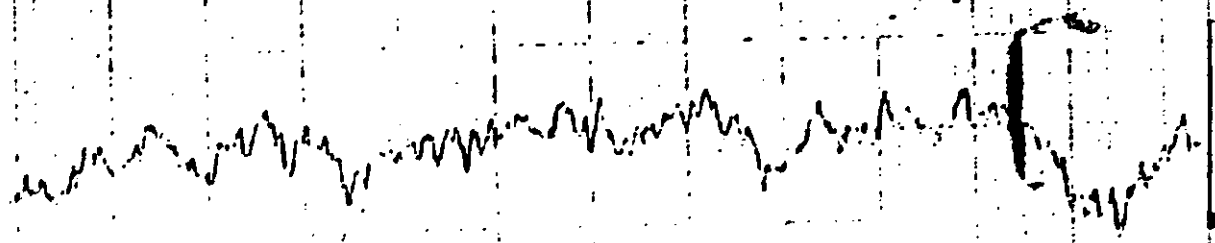






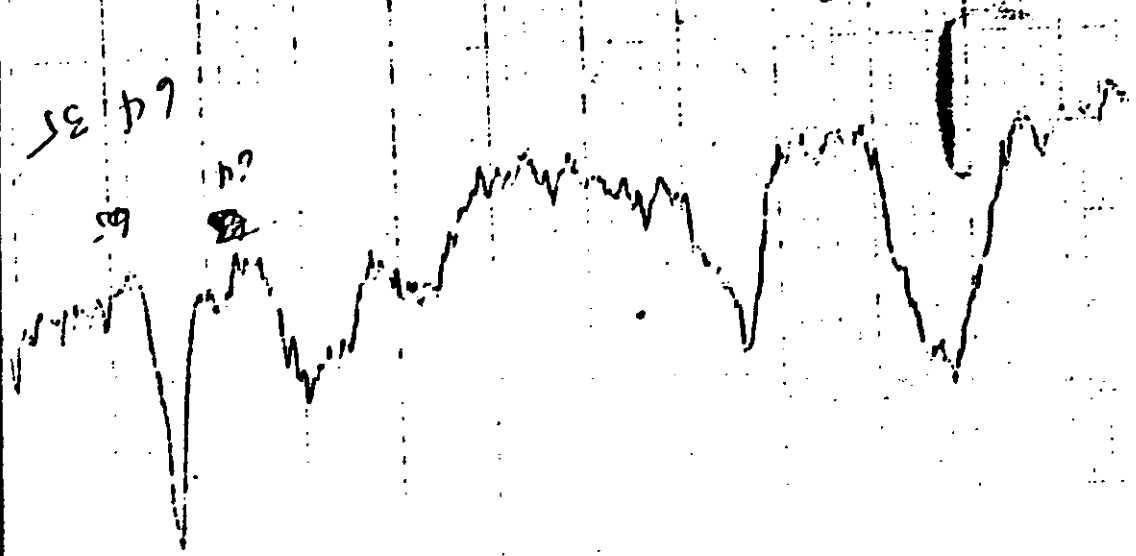
MADE IN U.S.A.

C 01



106

6435

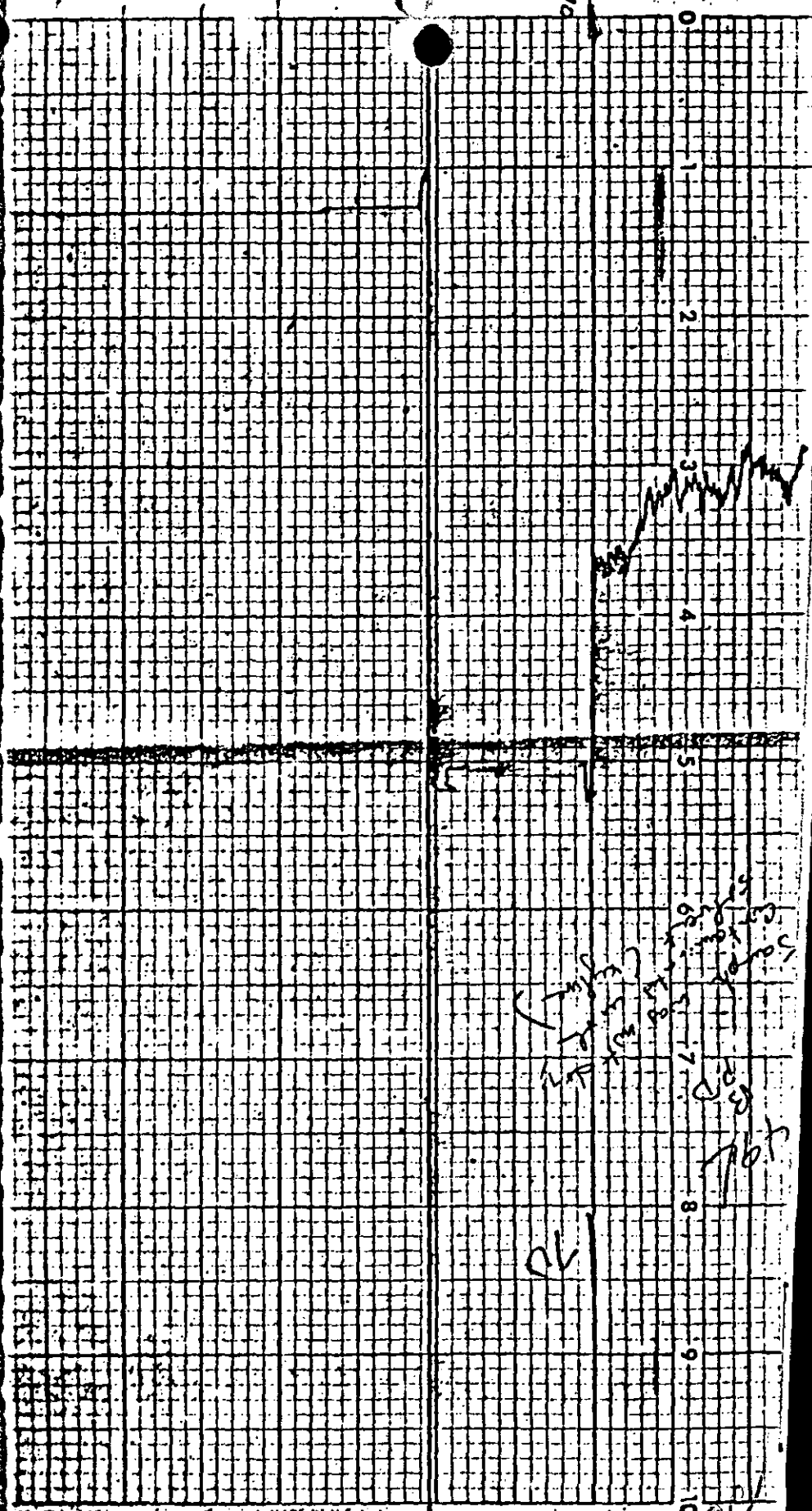


647

PC

(6)

107



FBI

Date: 7/28/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4054)(P)

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE - BPP

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum to the Bureau dated 7/10/70, entitled "Black Panther Party, Los Angeles Division, RM".

As the sexual promiscuity of [REDACTED] BPP [REDACTED] seems well known throughout the BPP and is apparently condoned as to the benefit of the revolution by his wife, [REDACTED] no counterintelligence proposal will be made attempting to alienate [REDACTED] and his wife through the pregnancy of JEAN SEBERG, actress and BPP sympathizer.

EX 105

2 Bureau (RM)
2 - Los Angeles
RWH:vjh
(1)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

JUL 31 1970

54 AUG 10 1970

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE 8-4-70

Airtel

To: SAC, New Orleans (105-3138)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 17

REC 53

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurairtel 7-31-70.

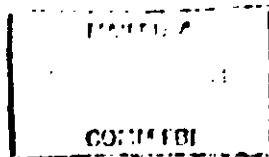
Counterintelligence suggestions should not be submitted on a UACB basis. Submit suggestion for Bureau approval, including details of literature to be mailed.

TJD:plm
(4)

NOTE:

New Orleans suggests sending Ku Klux Klan literature to Black Panther Party organizers in the Division from other territories who have not been previously exposed to the Klan.

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy



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97 AUG 7 1970

MAIL ROOM [] TELETYPE UNIT []

110

F B I

Date: 7/31/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL _____
(Priority)Mr. Walters
Mr. Mohr
Tele. Room
Mr. L. Jones
Miss GandyG. J. MOORE
12

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, NEW ORLEANS (105-3138) (P*)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

As has been previously brought to the attention of the Bureau, the Black Panther Party (BPP) is at the present time attempting to organize a chapter in the city of New Orleans.

Sources and informants close to the organizers have advised that some of these organizers have come from out of town and have never really been exposed to the operations and dealings with the Ku Klux Klan. New Orleans, UACB, plans to send to the organizers of this BPP Chapter literature that is published by the United Klans of America (UKA) and any other literature that can be obtained from organizations having an extreme hatred for black people. It is hoped that by sending this literature to these Black Panthers, it will cause them considerable concern and may possible disrupt them to the point of eventually giving up the idea of organizing a chapter or at least keeping its membership minimal.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

REC 53

100-448006-11

AUG 4 1970

2 - Bureau (RM)
3 - New Orleans (2 - 105-3138)
RJG/bnk (1 - 105-3138)
(5)

S. J. MOORE

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

M

F B I

Date: 7/24/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, MIAMI (157-2414) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
(BAEMI)
RM

Re Miami airtel to Bureau, 4/24/70.

Miami continues to maintain liaison with the Strategic Information and Homicide Units of the Miami, Florida, Police Department. Homicide investigators have obtained information relative to the murder of HARRY CARROLL in November, 1969. [redacted] were associated with [redacted] who was active in Miami during November and December, 1969. [redacted] was with the group that "kidnapped" [redacted] and were last in Atlanta, Ga., when [redacted] fled from the hotel. In addition, [redacted] was in the company of [redacted] who killed Miami Police Officer ROLAND LANE, II. It is noted that [redacted] went to the [redacted] following the shooting of Officer LANE and prior to his arrest on the same day at Orlando, Fla. In [redacted] to kill HARRY CARROLL. [redacted] when CARROLL was killed in the latter part of November, 1969.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
3 - Miami (1 - 157-2414)
(1 - 100-15445)
(1 - 170-495)

LCP/pap
(5)

REC 53

100-448006-1893

10 JUL 25 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE. M. Per

RACIAL INT. SECT. 1010

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent

112

FBI

Date: 7/24/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, MIAMI (157-2414) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
(BAHM)
RM

Re Miami airtel to Bureau, 4/24/70.

Miami continues to maintain liaison with the Strategic Information and Homicide Units of the Miami, Florida, Police Department. Homicide investigators have obtained information that [redacted] were associated with the murder of HARRY CARROLL in November, 1969. [redacted] was active in Miami during November and December, 1969. [redacted] was with the group that "kidnapped" [redacted] and were last in Atlanta, Ga., when [redacted] fled from the hotel. In addition, [redacted] was in the company of [redacted] killed Miami Police Officer ROLAND LANE, II. It is noted that [redacted] went to the [redacted] following the shooting of Officer LANE and prior to his arrest on the same day at Orlando, Fla. In [redacted] to kill HARRY CARROLL. [redacted] when CARROLL was killed in the latter part of November, 1969.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
3 - Miami (1 - 157-2414)
(1 - 100-15445)
(1 - 170-495)

LCP/pap
(5)

REC 53

100-448006-1898
DO NOT WRITE

10 JUL 25 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE. M. Per

RACIAL INT. SECT. 1210

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

113

MN 157-2414

[REDACTED] the Dade County Jail and [REDACTED] in the CARROLL shooting. In addition, local authorities report [REDACTED] has been developed indicating the possibility [REDACTED] held a Kangaroo-type court prior to CARROLL being sentenced to death.

The Florida State Attorney is currently making arrangements to subpoena twelve to fifteen individuals for the purpose of taking statements regarding this matter. It is noted that a number of these individuals have, to some extent, been associated with the Black-Afro Militant Movement. Following the statements, they contemplate presenting the matter to a State Grand Jury for the purpose of [REDACTED]

Among the twelve to fifteen scheduled to be subpoenaed [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] State Attorney's Office and [REDACTED] is no [REDACTED]

Miami will continue to follow this matter and keep the Bureau advised of future developments.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :

FROM : *Wif*

SUBJECT:

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

SAC, MIAMI (157-2414) (P)

DATE: 7/28/70

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
(BLACK AFRO MILITANT MOVEMENT)

4/1/70.

Re Miami airtel, 3/25/70, and Bureau letter,

Florida, was furnished the public source information [redacted] Miami, mentioned in referenced airtel. [redacted] was interested in producing an exposé type documentation on Black Afro Militant Movement (BAMM), but because of a shortage of qualified manpower [redacted] was unable to say when such a program could be made [redacted] was recon- tacted on 7/17/70, at which time [redacted] has been advised that because of the manpower shortage, [redacted] is about defunct, he is unable to do any- thing regarding a documentation on [redacted] He said that as much as it now appears [redacted] is about defunct, he not have any plans for the production of such a pro- gram in the near future.

AT MIAMI, FLORIDA

Will, if [redacted] again becomes active, recontact determine if he may be interested in the pro- duction of such an exposé at that time.

REC-32/

EX-112

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

13 JUL 1970

115

ROUTE D ENVELOPE

SAC, Boston (157-531)

July 29, 1970

Director, FBI (100-448006)

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReNHairtel 7/20/70 captioned "Black Panther Party (BPP) - Finances, Racial Matters," and Boston airtel enclosing LHM 7/20/70 captioned "Black Panther Party - Racial Matters, Threat Against the President."

A lucrative source of income and effective propaganda platform for the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the New England states are the frequent speaking engagements by BPP officials at college campuses. Counterintelligence recommendations to offset BPP achievements in this regard should be submitted to the Bureau as each occasion arises where this device would be effective.

ReNHairtel discloses that representatives from Boston College, Hartford University, and Brandeis University were making arrangements to have [REDACTED] appear at their respective universities at the fee of \$1,000 to \$1,500 per engagement.

REC 18

Re Boston LHM discloses that in the absence of [REDACTED] addressed a meeting of approximately 300 to 400 students at Boston University on 7/17/70.

Among other things [REDACTED] stated that contrary to statements made by J. Edgar Hoover, the BPP is not anti-Semitic and did not support the Al Fatah. In the most obscene language he uttered a threat against the life of the President of the United States.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

10 JUL 29 1970

SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

MAILED 12
JUL 29 1970
COMM-FBI

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brown	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	2
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. [REDACTED]	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

New Haven (157-785)

WDN:ekw
97 AUG 4 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐

Letter to SAC, Boston
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
100-448006

Public source material is available to put the lie to [redacted] statement that the BPP is not anti-Semitic. You are referred to the following articles which appeared in "The Black Panther" newspaper indicating BPP support for Al Fatah and its opposition to the existence of the State of Israel:

"The Heroic Palestinian Women," page 7, 7/26/69 issue; "Cleaver, Panthers Cheered in Algeria," page 16, 7/26/69 issue; "Al Fath Speaks," page 2, 8/9/69 issue; "Zionism (Kosher Nationalism) + Imperialism = Fascism," by Field Marshall, D. C., page 20, 8/20/69 issue; "Zionist Menace," page 14, 9/13/69 issue.

The offensive language spoken by BPP leaders and anti-Semitic propaganda appearing in the Panther newspaper, if brought to the attention of college officials and alumni of Boston College, a Christian institution, and Brandeis University, a Jewish institution, would have a deterrent effect concerning future appearances on campuses of BPP officials.

Boston and New Haven should promptly submit counterintelligence recommendations to the Bureau for approval to utilize public source data to expose BPP anti-Semitic and unchristian posture to university officials. In this regard, you may consider anonymous mailings, friendly news sources, SAC contacts, et cetera. It is pointed out that you should take no action whatsoever to implement any counterintelligence maneuver without obtaining prior Bureau authority.

Letter to SAC, Boston
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)
100-448006

NOTE:

Curtailement of public appearances by Panther officials on campuses would have the dual benefits of cutting off funds to the Black Panther Party and neutralizing Black Panther Party propaganda efforts.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. T. J. Deakin
1 - Mr. W. L. Smith

7/29/70

Airtel

To: SAC, San Diego (100-14192)
From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 1813

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BPP)

Reurairtel 7/20/70.

Bureau authority is denied for you [redacted] set forth in your airtel. Utilization of a third party in an attempt to influence action by San Diego City Council and Police Department could be traced to the Bureau and result in charges of interference. [redacted] there can be no guarantee that the Bureau would not become involved in what could prove to be a most embarrassing situation.

The Bureau, however, has no objections to submitting [redacted] You should, therefore, prepare such a communication and forward same to the Bureau for approval.

WLS:rrd:jgr
(5)

MAILED 8

JUL 21 1970

COMM-FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

NOTE:

San Diego has suggested [redacted] the efforts of the Black Panther Party to reorganize the San Diego ghetto area. [redacted] an effort to bring about more concentrated and efficient police control in the ghetto area. Such action might preclude the reorganization of the Black Panthers; however, authorization denied because of the possibility of adverse criticism.

Folsom
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.J.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Rm.
Holmes
Gandy

97 AUG 4 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

WLS
119

FBI

Date: 7/20/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-14192)(P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (BPP)

For the information of the Bureau, and as the Bureau has been advised, the BPP is attempting to reorganize its office and membership in San Diego.

In this regard, and along the same lines, a group of prominent Negro citizens in the Southeast San Diego area have organized a group called The Imperial Avenue Improvement Association. It is the purpose of this group to improve living conditions in the predominantly Negro southeast section of San Diego and to return more efficient law and order to that area.

In view of the fact that the BPP is making attempts toward reorganization in San Diego, along with the fact that any such reorganization would be contrary to the desires of the above mentioned improvement group, Bureau permission is requested

It is felt that if the Bureau approves this activity, _____ group might possibly be in a position to preclude the reorganization of the party through encouraging other businessmen who are members of the group to openly oppose the BPP.

- (2) - Bureau (AM) (REGISTERED)
 2 - San Diego

RLB:bef
 (4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE.

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Per

100-448006-1875
 100-14192-993
 7/22/70
 100-448006-1875

Handwritten: 100-448006-1875
 C. J. [Signature]

Handwritten: 82

Handwritten: JUL 21 1970
 RACIAL INT. SECT

Handwritten: 120

SD 100-14192

It is also requested that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] from the Imperial Avenue Improvement Association to approach
the San Diego City Council and representatives of the
San Diego Police Department for the purpose of insisting upon
more concentrated and effective police control of the Southeast
San Diego area.

F B I

Date: 7/22/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via A I R T E L A I R M A I L (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM -
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HAITI GROUPS

ReBuairtel 6/29/70.

San Francisco has considered reBuairtel and is not in a position to offer any recommendations that would adversely effect the circulation of the NOI newspaper in this area.

There is only one NOI mosque in this territory. Informants report that NOI members pay in advance for the copies of NOI weekly paper and if any disruption occurs in the retail sale it would have little immediate effect on the NOI.

San Francisco does not wish to offer any suggestions that would result in only informants reducing their orders for newspapers as this would adversely effect their position in the NOI. Informants have also reported that NOI salesmen plan to work in pairs and they do not expect any "harassment from undesirable elements."

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (157-2209) (Info) (RM)
1 - New York (Info) (RM)
1 - San Francisco
LSB/jmp
(5)

REC 18

VX-117

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OTHERWISE.

JUL 24 1970

56 AUG 3 1970

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

122

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

7/27/70

Airtel

1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Jackson (100-980)

REC-52

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 187E

EX-109
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA)

ReJNairtel 7/21/70.

Enclosed are single copies of 6/17/70 article from "The Washington Post Times Herald"; pamphlet entitled "Revolution and Nation Building"; pamphlet entitled "War in America" and speech made by [REDACTED] at Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin.

The last two paragraphs, page 72, of "FBI 1971 Appropriation" contain testimony by the Director on March 5, 1970. The Director's testimony is public source-type data and reveals the violent nature of the Republic of New Africa (RNA).

MAILED 11
JUL 27 1970

[REDACTED] public source-type information concerning the RNA, including the enclosures, which reveals its violent nature and/or the violence of RNA members. You are also authorized to tactfully explore the possibility of [REDACTED] the RNA in its time.

Bureau should be advised of tangible results.

Enclosures - 4

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

1 - Detroit
1 - New Orleans

WHA:amk (8)

97 AUG 4 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Airtel to Jackson
Re: Counterintelligence Program

NOTE:

[REDACTED] recently visited Jackson for purpose of re-establishing a RNA consulate there and he has proposed RNA regional conference be held in Jackson 7/31 - 8/1/70. RNA is violence-prone, black extremist, separatist organization [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] public source information regarding Black Panther Party and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] concerning Black Panther Party which is credited with the disbandment of Black Panther Party chapter in Mississippi. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] concerning violent nature of RNA [REDACTED] Jackson believes such articles will hinder RNA recruiting activities and possibly preclude re-establishment of RNA activities in that state. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] there is no chance of embarrassment to the Bureau in this matter.

FBI

Date: 7/21/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, JACKSON (100-980) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (REPUBLIC
 OF NEW AFRICA)

The following is a counterintelligence proposal
 of the Jackson Division:

1) BACKGROUND

The Republic of New Africa (RNA) is a black
 extremist group originally established at Detroit, Michigan.
 In recent months, there has been a split in leadership of
 this group between two brothers, [REDACTED] who
 goes by the name [REDACTED] For the past couple of months, [REDACTED] has allegedly moved his
 faction's headquarters to the New Orleans, Louisiana, area,
 which has in the past been the headquarters for the Southern
 Region of the RNA.

RNA activity in Mississippi has consisted in the
 past primarily of a small RNA Consulate of three to four
 members. Consul is [REDACTED] of Jackson.

The RNA has been seeking to obtain land in
 Mississippi, and has made several false claims in the past
 that they have purchased land in Mississippi.

- ② - Bureau (100-448006) (RM)
 1 - Detroit (Info) (RM)
 1 - New Orleans (Info) (RM)
 2 - Jackson (100-980) (RM)

TF/clm (6)

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 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE.

Sent _____

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

2 JUL 22 1970

RESEARCH SECTION
 Per T. RICHARDSON
 125

Within the past two weeks, [REDACTED] has visited the Jackson Consulate and has indicated he is interested in setting up an RNA office in Jackson, Mississippi. He has proposed that a conference of the RNA be held in Jackson during the period 7/31/70 to 8/1/70, and while in the Jackson area recently, made several contacts with legitimate Negro figures regarding a possible site for this conference.

He has indicated he would like to get an office established in Jackson "before any confrontation occurs between his group and the 'establishment' in Mississippi, as once he is established, it will be hard for them to root him out".

Within the past week, representatives of [REDACTED] from New Orleans have been in the Jackson area making contacts for the publishing of an RNA newspaper to be prepared in Jackson and distributed in Jackson and New Orleans.

[REDACTED]

2) SAC CONTACT

[REDACTED]

The Jackson Daily News is the only daily evening newspaper in Mississippi distributed throughout the entire state, and it has the highest circulation of newspapers in the state.

3) PROPOSAL

[REDACTED]

In this regard, it is requested that if the Bureau approves this proposal, [REDACTED] public-type information available regarding the RNA, showing involvement of its members in violence or in situations showing them in an unfavorable light.

It is requested that if this proposal is approved that this data be forwarded to the Jackson Division by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

If approved, precautions will be taken to insure that the Bureau's interest will be protected in this regard.

[REDACTED] if approved, will be of public source type nature.

4) RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that the above proposal be approved for enactment by the Bureau at an early date.

JN 100-980

Information copy forwarded to Detroit as Office of Origin regarding the RNA; information copy forwarded New Orleans which covers recent [REDACTED] and which is the headquarters for the Southeastern Region of the RNA.

July 23, 1970

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Philadelphia (157-2371)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 1872

EX-109
REC-52

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Reurairtel 7/17/70.

[REDACTED] Advise the Bureau of any tangible results.

CEG:ekw
(4)

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF [REDACTED]
DATE 4-3-77 [REDACTED]

NOTE: The telephone company disconnected two Black Panther telephones in Philadelphia for nonpayment of bills.

[REDACTED]

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

CLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED]
Exempt from [REDACTED] Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

97 AUG 4 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

129

FBI

Date: 7/17/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (157-2371)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

As the Bureau is aware, telephone numbers CE5-5738 and CE 5-7203, listed at 2935 Columbia Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa., have both had service disconnected by the Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania for non-payment of telephone bills. The Black Panther Party (BPP) is headquartered at 2935 Columbia Avenue in Philadelphia. Both of these telephones had been carried in the names of individuals but the service bills have been paid by the BPP.

The BPP is continually relying on telephonic communications to contact other BPP Chapters and to maintain communications among their various centers within Philadelphia. It is felt that any disruption of telephone service of the BPP will be harmful to the operation of the BPP and will seriously hinder their attempts to organize within this

AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) OF _____
DATE 7-22-70

3 - Philadelphia

PAS/sky

(5)

EX-100
2042
EX-100
2

JUL 18 1970

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

130

PH 157-2371

Telephone numbers:

PO 3-7437, 2146 Newkirk Street (Pad)

GE 8-7635, 428 West Queen Lane (Info Center)

BA 2-0885, 3625 Wallace Street (Info Center)

PO 3-0660, 1609 Susquehanna (Medical Center)

PO 3-0661, 1609 Susquehanna (Medical Center)

FBI

Date: 7/22/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM -
BLACK NATIONALISTS - HATE GROUPS

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

Re Buairtel, 6/29/70.

San Francisco has considered referenced Bureau airtel and is not in a position to offer any recommendations that would adversely effect the circulation of the Nation of Islam (NOI) newspaper in this area.

There is only one NOI Mosque in this territory. Informants report that NOI members pay in advance for the copies of NOI weekly paper and if any disruption occurs in the retail sale it would have little immediate effect on the NOI.

San Francisco does not wish to offer any suggestions that would result in only informants reducing their orders for newspapers as this would adversely effect their position in the NOI. Informants have also reported that NOI salesmen plan to work in pairs and they do not expect any "harrassment from undesirable elements."

REC-39
EX-109

100-448006-182775 AW

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (157-2209) (Info) (RM)
1 - New York (Info) (RM)
1 - San Francisco
LB/mer
(5)

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OTHERWISE.

JUL 24 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

132

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

7/23/70

airtel

1 -
1 -
1 -

To: SAC, New York (100-161140)

From: Director, REC-39 (100-448006) - 1/10

EX-117
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE)

ReNYairtel 7/17/70.

Counterintelligence measures proposed in reairtel are approved.

Promptly furnish Atlanta and Knoxville Divisions copies appropriate letters to be mailed from their field divisions to the Interreligious Foundation For Community Organizing (IFCO) in New York. New York insure letters involved are prepared on stationery which is not traceable to the FBI and instruct recipients to utilize mailing procedures so as to prevent this operation being traced to the Bureau. Additional instructions should be directed to Atlanta and Knoxville to insure these mailings are not made simultaneously in order to provide this technique with additional security.

The Bureau should be advised of positive results obtained as a result of these counterintelligence actions.

PEN:acs/bab
(6)

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NOTE:

The Student National Coordinating Committee is a black extremist group headquartered in New York City. Prior information has been developed indicating SNCC has placed a request for funds, with which to implement its Agrarian Reform Plan with the Interreligious Foundation For Community Organizing (IFCO) in New York City. IFCO is an interdenominational religious body founded in 1966 to support

MAILED 8
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
DeLoach, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

97 JUL 30 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

Airtel to New York
Counterintelligence Program
Black Nationalist - Hate Groups
Racial Intelligence
(Student National Coordinating Committee)

NOTE CONTINUED

various community programs and organizations. New York has recommended anonymous mailings from Atlanta and Knoxville offices which are involved in SNCC's Agrarian Reform Plan, of two letters allegedly from local businessmen; one engaged in the sale of used farm equipment and the other involved in the sale of land alleging approach by New York SNCC leader [redacted] Muhammad [redacted] involving profit-making schemes utilizing IFCO funds. Copies of letters to be mailed in this matter are attached.

FBI

Date: 7/17/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
 RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
 (STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE)

ReNYairtel and LHM dated 6/20/70, captioned "SNCC,
 RM - BNAT"; Buairtel to NY dated 7/3/70.

Enclosed herewith are two copies of proposed counter-intelligence letters to be sent to the Inter-Religious Foundations for Community Organizing (IFCO), 475 Riverside Dr., NYC.

In line with the Bureau's instructions that a proposal be submitted to negate SNCC's attempt to obtain a grant from IFCO to further their aims as set forth in NY airtel and LHM, page 4, dated 6/26/70, the following is submitted:

That the enclosed letters be sent to IFCO so that it would cast doubt in the minds of those IFCO personnel who deal with SNCC as to the sincerity of SNCC members in actually working their proposed "Farm Project".

If the Bureau approves of the aforementioned proposal the NYO will then furnish the enclosed letters to the Knoxville and Atlanta Offices for mailing purposes.

(2) - Bureau (RM)
 1 - New York

JLL:lh
 (4)

EX-117 REC-39
 INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
 OTHERWISE.

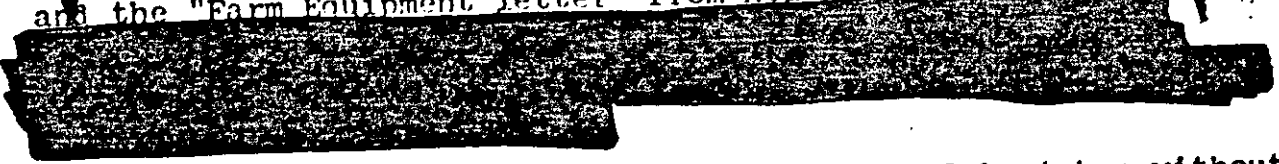
Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

RECEIVED
 135

NY 100-161140

To add realism to this proposal the NYO feels that the "Real Estate letter" should be mailed from Knoxville, Tenn., and the "Farm Equipment letter" from Atlanta, Ga.



No positive action on this matter will be taken without prior Bureau approval.

To Whom It May Concern:

I think you should know about a Negro who calls himself Muhammad [redacted] and who asked me to help him in plan to make money at your expense.

I am a salesman of used farm equipment and machinery and I have always been noted for my honesty.

About one week ago [redacted] who said he was [redacted] "SNICK" Club in Georgia (Carmichael's old group), was introduced to me by a friend. [redacted] said he wanted to buy junk farm equipment and that he would pay the price of new equipment for the junk.

I told [redacted] that it sounded like he was crazy and was throwing his money away. [redacted] said he wasn't crazy and that if I would just get him titles for the junk equipment he would give the titles to the Inter-Religious Foundation for Community Organizing, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, and tell them that they represented new equipment. Then your group would pay [redacted] as though he had brought brand new stuff.

[redacted] said we could go 50-50 on the difference between what the junk cost and what your organization gave us.

Now I have my reputation to protect and I will not get involved in any criminal activity. I am a Negro and it has taken a lot of hard work to get where I am.

I hope this information may help you.

Concerned

139

Gentlemen:

During the middle of June of this year I was contacted by a young Negro man from New York City who said his name was Mohammad [redacted]

I feel you would be interested in the type of "business deal" Mr. [redacted] offered me.

First let me explain that I am a Negro and a Real Estate Agent by profession. Most of my business is concerned with the sale and leasing of farm land in the Knoxville, Tennessee area.

As I said before I was contacted by a Mr. [redacted] who had this "deal" for me which went as follows:

[redacted] asked me to quote him a price on a 200 acre parcel of land in the vicinity of Morristown, Tennessee. This land was to be used for tobacco and general farming purposes. When I told [redacted] that there was no such land available which I could get for him he told me not to worry as he would pay me top dollar for whatever I could sell him because his friends did not intend to work the land anyway.

I told [redacted] I still didn't understand what his deal was and he said to me "you think like a real nigger. You don't know a good thing when you see it."

He then told me that if I could get him the piece of land for \$5,000 he would tell "the Church" it cost \$50,000 and that he and I could split the \$45,000 difference in a way that would make us a good bit of money. [redacted] told me there were other people involved with him but he did not tell me who they were.

I must confess that I did show an interest in what he had told me but I said to him I didn't understand why a Church would want to buy land in Tennessee. He told me that he was president of an organization that was sponsored by a group called the Inter-Religious Foundation for Community Organizing, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, which was really not a church, but a bunch of Honkie and Uncle Tom Churchmen who were real liberal with money and never asked questions.

138

I would like to tell you that I consider myself a good Christian and I am a Deacon in my Church.

I made no further contact with [REDACTED] and never did find out what organization he is president of but I think you should know about his actions anyway since he did use the name of your organization.

I hope you understand that due to my occupation and position in my home town I cannot give you my name.

A friend

To Whom It May Concern:

I think you should know about a Negro who calls himself Muhamma [redacted] and who asks me to help him in plan to make money at your expense.

I am a tradesman of used farm equipment and machinery and have always been noted for my honesty.

About one week ago [redacted] who said he was [redacted] "SNICK" Club in Georgia (Carmichael's old group), was introduced to me by a friend. [redacted] said he wanted to buy junk farm equipment and that he would pay the price of new equipment for the junk.

I told [redacted] that it sounded like he was crazy and was throwing his money away. [redacted] said he wasn't crazy and that if I would just get him titles for the junk equipment he would give the titles to the Inter-Religious Foundation for Community Organizing, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, and tell them that they represented new equipment. Then your group would pay [redacted] as though he had brought brand new stuff.

[redacted] said we could go 50-50 on the difference between what the junk cost and what your organization gave us.

Now I have my reputation to protect and I will not get involved in any criminal activity. I am a Negro and it has taken a lot of hard work to get where I am.

I hope this information may help you.

Concerned

Gentlemen:

During the middle of June of this year I was contacted by a young Negro man from New York City who said his name was Muhammad [redacted]

I feel you would be interested in the type of "business deal" [redacted] offered me.

First let me explain that I am a Negro and a Real Estate Agent by profession. Most of my business is concerned with the sale and leasing of farm land in the Knoxville, Tennessee area.

As I said before I was contacted by [redacted] who had this "deal" for me which went as follows:

[redacted] asked me to quote him a price on a 200 acre parcel of land in the vicinity of Morristown, Tennessee. This land was to be used for tobacco and general farming purposes. When I told [redacted] that there was no such land available which I could get for him he told me not to worry as he would pay me top dollar for whatever I could sell him because his friends did not intend to work the land anyway.

I told [redacted] I still didn't understand what his deal was and he said to me "you think like a real nigger. You don't know a good thing when you see it."

He then told me that if I could get him the piece of land for \$5,000 he would tell "the Church" it cost \$50,000 and that he and I could split the \$45,000 difference in a way that would make us a good bit of money. [redacted] told me there were other people involved with him but he did not tell me who they were.

I must confess that I did show an interest in what he had told me but I said to him I didn't understand why a Church would want to buy land in Tennessee. He told me that he was president of an organization that was sponsored by a group called the Inter-Religious Foundation for Community Organizing, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, which was really not a church, but a bunch of Honkie and Uncle Tom Churchmen who were real liberal with money and never asked questions.

141

I would like to tell you that I consider myself good Christian and I am a Deacon in my Church.

I made no further contact with [REDACTED] and never did find out what organization he is president of but I think you should know about his actions anyway since he did use the name of your organization.

I hope you understand that due to my occupation and position in my home town I cannot give you my name.

A friend

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

7-22-70

airtel

To: SAC, Charlotte (157-6109)

From: Director, EX-109
REC 8(100-448006) - 1889

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReCEairtel 7-16-70.

You are authorized to prepare and mail anonymous letter set forth in referenced airtel. Take usual precautions to insure letter cannot be traced to Bureau. Advise Bureau and interested offices of positive results achieved.

1-San Francisco

HEH:djw
(6)

NOTE:

This is continuation of previously approved counterintelligence measure designed to attack Black Panther Party (BPP) leadership in Winston Salem, North Carolina. Last month Charlotte prepared and mailed about 100 copies of a leaflet to news services and residents in vicinity BPP headquarters, Winston Salem, belittling present leadership at Winston Salem. Charlotte has noted favorable response to letter in Negro community and desired to follow-up with second such mailing. Proposed mailing will allege that [REDACTED] BPP leader, lives off the people and gives them nothing in return. Letter will be signed by Southern Vanguard Revolutionary Party, a group which has been at odds with BPP. This mailing which can be handled without embarrassment to the Bureau should produce further disruption and distrust of BPP in Winston Salem.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

97 JUL 30 1970

MAIL ROOM [] TELETYPE UNIT []

MAILED 5
COMM-FBI

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

FBI

Date: 7/16/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via IRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109) (P)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau dated 6/17/70.

In connection with the Counterintelligence Program, Charlotte Office, Charlotte desires to prepare and mail another article under the auspices of Winston-Salem, N. C., black community news services. It is noted that the initial newsletter was prepared and mailed on 6/16/70, and reaction to this newspaper indicated it was favorably received.

[REDACTED] that several young Negro males had been noted laughing about the Black Panther Party (BPP) and commenting on a letter received in the Black Panther neighborhood recently depicting [REDACTED] as a parasite and avaricious businessman [REDACTED]

The newsletter proposed is as follows:

- 2-Bureau (RM)
- 1-New Haven (RM)
- 1-San Francisco (RM)
- 2-Charlotte

THG:cvs
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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OTHERWISE.

JUL 18 1970

97 JUL 30 1970

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6109

Winston-Salem, North Carolina
Black Community News Service
Volume I, Issue 2

**"NEWS OF INTEREST TO THE BLACK
CITIZENS OF WINSTON-SALEM"**

"The S.V.P.D. has been following with interest the trial of [REDACTED] at New Haven, Connecticut. [REDACTED] born and raised at Wade, North Carolina, is on trial for his life in connection with the slaying of Alex Rackley who was reportedly killed by members of the Black Panther group at New Haven for being a pig agent.

"In addition to [REDACTED] and other persons operating at New Haven, Connecticut, Bobby Seale, the leader in the Black Panther, is also under arrest. It is interesting to note that all the publicity in both the Black Panther newspaper and the Northern press concerns only Bobby Seale. Little, if any, mention is made of [REDACTED] and it causes this reporter to wonder if a North Carolina born and raised person is as important to the revolution as the 'Vanguards from the West Coast'.

"On the local scene [REDACTED] continues to resemble more closely the avaricious businessmen and slumlords of the black community each day that he operates. It is hard to see the good that [REDACTED] does even if it exists because of the dictatorial.

2

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

145

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6109

manner in which he conducts the affairs of the Winston-Salem Branch of the National Committee to Combat Fascism. It has been learned that [REDACTED] continues to live off the people and return nothing. It is hard to see how two or three articles a month in the Black Panther Party newspaper assist in improving the conditions of the black people of Winston-Salem, when [REDACTED] could be doing productive work and not eating community food which could then be given to needy black children."

As in the previous newsletter, an additional paragraph of something of local interest of the black community such as public housing, job programs, etc., will be added and, thereafter, the article will be signed "S.V.R.P., Winston-Salem, North Carolina."

After a short period of time, a copy will be furnished to the BPP Ministry of Information, San Francisco, Calif.

The Bureau is requested to expeditiously authorize this counterintelligence operation and upon receipt of Bureau approval, Charlotte will mail it to addresses in the vicinity of BPP headquarters, Winston-Salem, N. C. The newsletter will be reproduced on unwater-marked paper and sent out in plain envelops with stamps attached and not franked.

3

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

146

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Milwaukee (157-459)

7/23/70

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1111
EX-109

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

Reurlet 7/15/70.

You are authorized to prepare handwritten letter on commercially purchased lined paper as enclosed with referenced letter. It is suggested you include several misspellings to make the letter appear more authentic.

You should anonymously mail this letter along with a copy of the purging order, as enclosed with referenced letter, to BPP national headquarters. Take the usual security precautions to insure mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau.

Advise the Bureau and San Francisco of any positive results obtained by means of this letter.

1 - San Francisco (157-601)

LGB:bjr
(6)

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OTHERWISE.

NOTE:

Referenced letter indicated [REDACTED] BPP, New York City, issued 6/23/70 a purging order of [REDACTED] two Milwaukee BPP members. Milwaukee advised copies of the purging order by [REDACTED] had been handed out in the Milwaukee area by BPP members.

Milwaukee advised [REDACTED] has not been seen at any BPP functions since his purge, but [REDACTED] has appealed for a 30-day stay and apparently has promised to rededicate himself to party matters.

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

22 JUL 30 1970
Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Soyars
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

TELETYPE UNIT []

CD 5/3

147

Letter to SAC, Milwaukee
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

Milwaukee, as a counterintelligence measure, has proposed the preparation of a handwritten letter and anonymously mailing this along with a copy of the purging order to BPP national headquarters. The letter complains about why [REDACTED] has not been kicked out of the party for good and requests that the purging order be printed in the BPP newspaper.

This should be an excellent disruption technique and opportunity of having [REDACTED] expelled from the BPP.

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : *[Signature]* SAC, Milwaukee (157-459) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

DATE: 7/15/70

[Signature]

Re Milwaukee letter to Bureau dated 6/30/70, a copy of which is attached for information of San Francisco.

Referenced letter contains details regarding the [REDACTED] from the Milwaukee National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF).

Attached is a copy of the purging order issued by [REDACTED] Deputy Minister of Information, BPP, New York City, on 6/23/70.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] evidently promised to rededicate himself to party matters and has greatly extended himself in selling BPP newspapers.

Milwaukee feels that anonymously sending the purge order to BPP national headquarters, along with the attached letter, might enable the purge order to be printed in the BPP newspaper, and also discredit [REDACTED] with the BPP nationally.

Milwaukee recommends that said letter be handwritten and on lined paper.

- 2 - Bureau (100-448006) (Enc.-2) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (Enc.-3) (RM)
- 1 - Milwaukee (157-459)

JPG/dsw
(4)

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ENCLOSURE SEC-41

EX-109

JUL 20 1970

RESEARCH SECTION
RACIAL INT. SECT.



MI 157-459

It is to be noted that the enclosed purging order has been handed out in the Milwaukee area by members of the NCCF.

150

NCCF - Milwaukee Branch: PURGES

The Black Panther Party and its organizing bureau, the National Committee to Combat Fascism, are dedicated to the complete liberation of the people (all oppressed people in general and Black people in particular.) Its sole purpose is to serve the people whole-heartedly. This one track devotion to the people's causes has forced the racist pig-power structure to attempt to destroy the Party and NCCFs. The Party and NCCFs must and will persevere through all attempts at its destruction.

It is obvious that we cannot allow any bad seeds to hinder the organization. Every member must be completely dedicated to the organization's goals (THE COMPLETE LIBERATION OF THE PEOPLE) and relate to its discipline. When a member does not, it hinders the functioning of the organization and consequently the people's struggle. It is the duty of the organization to remove this bad seed.

Two such seeds found their way into the Milwaukee Branch of the NCCF.

[REDACTED] Recently, the people of the Black Community moved on one of the local avaricious businesses (Kohl's Food Store) and set up a pickett line. [REDACTED] crossed this pickett line and his only justification for doing it was that he didn't want to walk four blocks to another store. For this, he was placed

ENCLOSURE

151

NCCF - Milwaukee Branch: PURGES (cont'd)

on a two weeks' working suspension (a light enough punishment considering the crime).

[REDACTED] did not fulfill the responsibilities that were assigned to him. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] has been expelled from the Milwaukee Branch of the National Committee to Combat Fascism.

(2) [REDACTED] - This fool got drunk one night and decided that he wanted to take some target practice. He went out into an alley and started shooting a .22 rifle down the alley. When questioned later about why he did this he simply stated that it was an unexplainable impulse that made him do it. [REDACTED] has been expelled from the National Committee to Combat Fascism.

Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected - that is what being responsible to the people means.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Us younger brothers here in Milwaukee want some action. We are the ones out selling the papers and asking for donations for the breakfast program. We make up the NCCF here in Milwaukee and we want to know why the older heads around here are shucking and jiving when it comes to kicking Jefferies out for good. [REDACTED] from New York came here and purged the no good nigger and he's still hanging around.

We think he started shacking with [REDACTED] and that's the reason she is letting him stay.

Print the purge in the newspaper and we'll know you're behind us and we'll sell twice as many papers.

Power to the People

Young bloods - Milwaukee NCCF

7/20/70

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-12340)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-3357)
SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
RM - BPP

ReButel to NY dated 6/18/70, captioned "COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM, BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS, RACIAL INTELLIGENCE, BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)".

NYC authorities have been contacted and advised that they had no objection to agents of the FBI interviewing subject.

[REDACTED] NO
current address could be learned for subject.

[REDACTED] with negative
results.

On 6/28/70, 7/10/70, 7/15/70 - 7/17/70, surveillances were conducted in the vicinity of the BPP, 180 Sutter St., Brooklyn, NY, in an effort to locate and eventually isolate subject for interview. The results of these surveillances were negative.

[REDACTED] subject's former address, advised that he put subject and his wife out of their apartment approximately three months ago when he learned that subject was a member of the BPP. [REDACTED] stated he has not seen subject nor does he have a forwarding address for him.

4- Bureau (RM)
(2- 157-12340)
(2- 100-448006)
1- New York (100-161140)
2- New York (43)
CSB:tf
(8)
1- Subv. 7/23/70

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OTHERWISE.

NOT RECORDED

199 AUG 17 1970

51 AUG 20 1970

ORIGINAL FILED IN

154

NY 157-3357

[REDACTED]

The NYO is fully aware that should subject become cooperative, he would have excellent informant potential, therefore, positive action in an effort to isolate and interview is continuing. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

155

RECEIVED

6-29-70

airtel

100-448006-1887

REC-87

EX-105

To: SACs, Chicago
New York
San Francisco

From: Director, FBI

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

1-Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1-Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1-Mr. G. C. Moore

Counterintelligence action to curtail the Black Panther Party (LPP) weekly newspaper is currently under consideration. The proposed plan will be to create friction between the Nation of Islam (NOI) and BPP in the form of a retaliatory reaction by NOI in reprisal for loss in NOI newspaper sales revenue due to infringement of the BPP newspaper.

NOI leader Elijah Muhammad, who might well be influenced to take positive steps to counteract the sale of BPP newspapers in the Negro community. It is felt that with careful planning and close supervision, an open dispute can be developed between the two organizations.

RLR:djw
(13)

JUL 22 1970

58 JUL 13 1970

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO
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OTHERWISE.

Airtel to Chicago
RE: Black Panther Party

Recipient offices are requested to offer suggestions concerning the practicality of implementing such a counterintelligence act and requested to promptly furnish observations setting forth any feasible recommendations concerning this matter.

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated 6-26-70, captioned as above, prepared by RLR:cae/djw.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 6-26-70

FROM : G. C. Moore

1-Mr. C. D. DeLoach
1-Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1-Mr. G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

To recommend counterintelligence measures to curtail circulation of the Black Panther Party (BPP) newspaper by inducing retaliatory reaction by the Nation of Islam (NOI) for loss of revenue due to BPP cutting into NOI newspaper sales.

The BPP, through its distribution of a weekly newspaper, is planting seeds of violence, revolution, and disruption throughout the Nation. The paper blatantly advocates the violent disruption of the American system and calls for the killing of police officers. This paper has a circulation of about 125,000 copies per week. The BPP paper is in strong competition with the NOI weekly newspaper, "Muhammad Speaks," which has a reported weekly circulation of 300,000 copies. While both papers advocate white hate, a noticeable loss of revenue to NOI due to decreased sales of their paper caused by the BPP papers might well be the spark to ignite the fuel of conflict between the two organizations both are extremely money conscious.

[REDACTED] NOI leader, Elijah Muhammad, who might well be influenced to take positive steps to counteract the sale of BPP papers in the Negro community. We feel that with careful planning and close supervision an open dispute can be developed between the two organizations.

Enclosure

REC-87

RLR:cac/djw
(7)

EX-105

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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CONTINUED - OVER

JUN 29 1970
158

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: Black Panther Party

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached airtel to Chicago, New York, and San Francisco requesting suggestions for implementation of such a counterintelligence program be approved and sent.

PP
WES

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 7/16/70

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-7182)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE)

Re Atlanta letter to Bureau, 7/7/70.

On 7/16/70, the second letter was retyped and mailed to the Episcopal Church, 815 Second Avenue, New York, New York.

Atlanta and New York will be alert for any information regarding the above action and advise the Bureau of positive results obtained.

182

REC 37

(2-Bureau (RM)
2-New York (RM)
1-Atlanta
REF/df
(6)

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OTHERWISE

RACIAL INT. SECT.

68 JUL 28 1970
7/20/70

160

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 7/14/70

FROM : SAC, TAMPA (157-3213) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Bulet to Tampa, 6/19/70.

On August 22, 1969, an attempt was made to interview [REDACTED] who was then employed in the law offices of [REDACTED]. This interview was in connection with possible violence in Sarasota, Florida, as a result of the desegregation of schools in Sarasota, Florida, and was conducted at the request of the Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division, U. S. Department of Justice. [REDACTED] when contacted, advised that [REDACTED] was employed by him and he had no objections to an interview of [REDACTED]. When the Agents attempted to interview [REDACTED] interrupted the interview and advised [REDACTED] was a client of his and requested that his client not answer any questions as he could not understand why the FBI was conducting any investigation into the matter.

[REDACTED] who was then [REDACTED] for the BLACK YOUTH FOR PEACE AND POWER (BYPP), a black militant organization in Tampa, Florida, was placed on 6 months probation for her involvement in shoplifting at a department store in Tampa, Florida.

One of the stipulations of the probation was that [REDACTED] was not to leave Hillsborough County, Florida, without the permission of her probation officer.

(2) - Bureau (RM)
2 - Tampa
JEH:lp
(4)

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16 JUL 15 1970

RESEARCH SECTION



59 JUL 22 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

[REDACTED]

On the afternoon of [REDACTED] was called into the office of her probation officer, at which time a detective from the Intelligence Unit, Tampa Police Department, advised [REDACTED] that the Police Department had evidence that she had traveled to New York and implied that they knew the airline on which she traveled, together with the name she had used. The detective from the Intelligence Unit advised [REDACTED] that she would be taken before a Judge and that she would be asked about any travel outside of Hillsborough County.

[REDACTED] was subsequently brought before a Judge, at which time [REDACTED] admitted that she had traveled to New York during the latter part of June 1970.

On the morning of June 14, 1970, an administrative hearing was held, at which time [REDACTED] was sentenced to 90 days in the City Stockade. [REDACTED] and the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 7/16/70

FROM : G. C. Moore *hcm*SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Tolson	
DeLoach	
Mohr	
Bishop	
Casper	
Callahan	
Conrad	
Felt	
Gale	
Rosen	
Sullivan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

To advise of successful counterintelligence measure utilized by Tampa Office resulting in jailing of Black Panther Party (BPP) leader.

[REDACTED] Florida, is black militant who has recently been attempting to set up branch of BPP in that city. She is on probation as a result of conviction on shoplifting charges. A provision of probation was that she not leave area without permission.

[REDACTED] was subsequently afforded hearing at which time she admitted travel to New York and was thereafter sentenced to 90 days in jail.

The jailing of **[REDACTED]** will definitely hamper formation of BPP chapter in Tampa.

ACTION: For information. EX 106 *✓*

HEH:rmm (6)

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - **[REDACTED]**
- 1 - **[REDACTED]**

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97 JUL 23 1970

10 JUL 20 1970

163

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 7/14/70

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (157-721) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY - BPP)

Re Seattle letter, 6/12/70; and Bureau letter
to Portland, 6/19/70.

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

None.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

None.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

None.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST 2 JUL 16 1970

None.

It is noted that Seattle counterintelligence program is not active which is occasioned by the fact that the BPP in Seattle, Washington, is involved solely in activities of political and neighborhood good will nature. These projects are not conducive to counterintelligence programs and it is felt that any attempt to work a counterintelligence program directly against the BPP may not be in the Bureau's best interest.

Reference is made to above Bureau letter, June 19, 1970. Seattle has conducted a survey of potential targets and it is felt that the individuals that the cited program could be directed against are not suitable for this situation. The feeling of this is through an extensive analysis of these individuals through the agents working and/or having knowledge of those individuals of the BPP.

The next monthly letter will be submitted by August 15, 1970.

2 - Bureau (REG)
2 - Seattle
SER:cmf
(4)

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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164

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 7/7/70

FROM : SAC, ATLANTA (100-7182)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE)

Re New York airtel to Bureau, 6/18/70,
and Bureau airtel to New York, 6/26/70.

On 7/7/70, the letter from the "salesman
of school books" was retyped and mailed to the
Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New
York, New York, in line with referenced Bureau
airtel. The second letter in re New York letter
will be rewritten and mailed during the week of
7/13/70.

Atlanta and New York will be alert for
any information regarding the above action and
advise the Bureau of positive results obtained.

EX 105

REC 83

17 JUL 10 1970

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2-Bureau (RM)
2-New York (RM)
2-Atlanta
54 JUL REF/4970
(6)

100-448006-113/2
PEN/4970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

165

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 7/9/70

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RM

ReBulet to Portland dated 6/19/70.

Enclosures with referenced letter have been handled per instructions set forth in referenced letter.

A record has been made of the names of recipients for possible future counterintelligence follow-up material.

The Bureau and San Francisco will be advised of any positive results ascertained through this action.

The above is for information.

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (157-601) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

JFM: pas
(4)

REC 65

16 JUL 13 1970

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54 JUL 17 1970

166

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

7-13-70

airtel

1-NY Field Guidance Folder
1 [REDACTED]

To: SAC, New York (100-16140)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE)

ReNYairtel and LHM dated 6-26-70, captioned "SNCC,
RM - BNAT."

New York is instructed immediately submit counter-
intelligence proposal designed to negate captioned organiza-
tion's attempt at obtaining a grant from the Interreligious
Foundation for Community Organizing (IFCO) as set forth page
four referenced LHM.

New York should take no positive action in this
regard without prior approval of the Bureau.

1-Atlanta
1-Cincinnati
1-Knoxville
1-Savannah

MAILED 8

REC-57

COMM-FBI

PEN:djv
(9)

EX-109

10 JUL 13 1970

NOTE:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Walters _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
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Sullivan _____
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Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

SNCC is a black extremist organization headquartered
in New York City. The organization is making progress at
revitalizing itself with its chief difficulty being lack of
finances. One of its projected programs is an Agrarian
Reform plan which involves the purchase of farmland in the
area of Morristown, Tennessee. ReLHM indicates SNCC has
placed a request for funds with the IFCO, New York City with
which to finance this project. IFCO is an interdenominational
religious body formed in 1966 to support various community
programs and organizations.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

97 JUL 21 1970

167

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 7/8/70

FROM : SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReWFOlet, 3/3/70.

In accordance with instruction set forth in Bulet dated 3/4/68, the following data is submitted:

I. OPERATIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION

It was recently determined by WFO that during the period 3/31/70-4/30/70, [REDACTED] of the National Association of Black Students (NABS), had authorized checks drawn on the NABS bank account in the amount of \$1,456.50 payable to herself. [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Detroit, Mich.

WFO has requested the Detroit Office to ascertain if [REDACTED] is related to [REDACTED]. As soon as this information is received, WFO will submit recommendations regarding appropriate action to bring this matter to the attention of NABS members.

II. OPERATIONS BEING EFFECTED

Information regarding the Center for Black Education (CBE) operating without an occupancy permit and in an area not zoned to permit a school or community center was [REDACTED]

2-Bureau
1-WFO

REC-58

EX-117

HGE:dlw
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

JUL 9 1970
RACIAL INT. SECT.



5 5 JUL 16 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

168

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] These inspectors were stopped at the door of 1435 Fairmont Street, N.W., and refused entrance. They advised the unidentified individual who refused them admittance, of the zoning and occupancy regulations of the District of Columbia. The inspectors were in turn advised that the appropriate permits would be obtained in the near future.

[REDACTED] advised that the CBE had failed to apply for appropriate permits. [REDACTED] inspectors into the neighborhood to check and attempt to ascertain if the CBE was operating a school or community center.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

No tangible results of the operations being effected in II above, are as yet apparent.

IV. DEVELOPMENTS OF A COUNTERINTELLIGENCE INTEREST

Of considerable interest is the recent announcement that the National Committee to Combat Fascism, 2327 18th Street, N.W., is now a chapter of the Black Panther Party. The operations of the BPP are being closely followed to determine what counterintelligence action can be taken against them in the future.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, SACRAMENTO (100-894)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

DATE: 7/6/70

ReBulet, 6/15/70.

Enclosed for the Bureau, as requested in relet,
are two copies each of five news releases regarding the
shooting of Sacramento [REDACTED] by sniper
on 5/9/70.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 10)(RM)
1 - Sacramento
WGK:epg
(3)

54 JUL 14 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. T. J. Deakin

1 - Mr. A. B. Fulton

7-20-70

Airtel

1 -
1 -
1 -

EX-117

To: SAC, Boston (157-531)

REC-124 From: Director, FBI (100-448006) -1777.

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

ReBSlet 7-1-70.

Counterintelligence proposal suggested in relet is approved. This technique would appear to have extreme value in connection with captioned program and indicates your office is giving careful thought to this matter.

Copies of the postcard prepared by your office as reproduced at the Bureau are being forwarded separately for anonymous mailings as proposed by your office. Insure the postcards and their mailing are properly handled in order that this counterintelligence measure is not traceable to the FBI.

Boston is instructed to mail copies of these postcards from various locales in the Cambridge, Massachusetts, area in order to obtain an additional possible counterintelligence benefit by virtue of the BPP and NCCF organizations' current ideological and physical differences with the Progressive Labor Party located in that city. Promptly advise the Bureau of counterintelligence benefits derived from this operation. In view of this technique's possible value in other field divisions having active BPP and NCCF groups, Boston, within 60 days of the date of this communication, should submit comments concerning the overall benefits obtained from this activity in order that the Bureau may make a decision as to its possible significance in other areas.

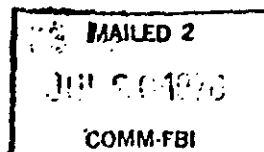
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

1 - Boston (sent separately)

PEN:plm

(9)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO



97 JUL 23 1970

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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Bishop _____
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Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

171

Airtel to Boston

RE: Counterintelligence Program
Black Nationalist - Hate Groups
100-448006

NOTE:

Boston Office being authorized to anonymously mail postcards to individual and organizational fund contributors and potential contributors of funds to the extremist BPP and NCCF in their area showing these groups' misuse of funds allegedly obtained for community action programs. This was approved by the Director 7-15-70.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 7/1/70

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-531)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Enclosed for the Bureau is a mock-up of an oversized postcard designed to show the disproportionate allocation of money spent by the BPP and NCCF for such things as guns and ammunition rather than for the Free Breakfast Program which they have promoted as the means for obtaining contributions and donations.

A card of this type could be mailed to individuals and organizations known to have been of financial assistance to the BPP or NCCF as well as business establishments in the community who would be likely contributors.

If approved, the Bureau is requested to have the Exhibit Section prepare a similar card, sufficient copies of which could be sent to field offices having BPP and NCCF chapters.

2 - Bureau (Enc. 1)(RM)
2 - Boston
(1 - 157-654)(BPP)
MEL:maf
(4)

REC-43

REC'D INT. SECT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



173

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 7/1/70

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUP
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReBulet to Chicago dated 6/23/70, Chicago LHM dated 6/15/70, captioned "BLACK PANTHER PARTY".

Referenced letter requested Chicago submit a counterintelligence proposal regarding the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the Blackstone Rangers, a local street gang, inasmuch as referenced Chicago LHM indicated that members of the BPP had a meeting with about 20 members of the Blackstone Rangers concerning the activities of the two groups.

[REDACTED] has indicated that he feels that the Blackstone Rangers were responsible for the shooting of his brother, on May 22, 1970, therefore, does not have any desire to have anything to do with them.

According to the source, no meetings between the two groups are planned.

(2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago
JPM: pas
(3)

60 JUL 10 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

REC- 86 100-448006-100
JUL 2 1970
RESEARCH SECTION
RACIAL INT. SECT.
174

In view of the above, it is apparent at this time that no attempts are being made to combine any activity on the part of the BPP and the Blackstone Rangers.

In light of the information set forth above, no counterintelligence proposal is being submitted.

Chicago will be alert for any indication, in the future, as to any possible alignment of the BPP and the Blackstone Rangers.

Should any such information be ascertained, Chicago will suggest a counterintelligence proposal based on information developed.

FBI

Date: 6/22/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE -
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Bureau teletype Los Angeles and New York,
entitled, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - FACTIONALISM, RM",
dated 6/9/70.

At this time, San Francisco has no information upon
which to base further suggestion of a counterintelligence
proposal to exploit factionalism within BPP in New York
area.

Bureau and interested offices will be immediately
advised on receipt of any such information.

EX-113

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

REC-57/00 - 448006 - 1875

JUL 10 1970

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
(1- 100-161993)
- 2 - New York (RM)
(1- 157 Counterintelligence)
(1- BPP-Factionalism)
- 1 - San Francisco

ESB/sad

JUL 10 1970

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

4 JUL 24 1970

RACIAL INT. SEC.

176

FBI

Date: 6/24/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via A I R T E L _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (157-2371) (P)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

Re Philadelphia airtel to the Bureau, dated 6/8/70,
and Bureau airtel to Philadelphia, dated 6/17/70.

For the information of San Francisco, referenced
Bureau airtel, dated 6/17/70, authorized the sending to
HUEY P. NEWTON the possible counterintelligence letter,
copies of which were forwarded to San Francisco, dated
6/12/70.

San Francisco is requested to furnish Philadelphia
with any information indicating tangible results attributable
to this second letter by _____

Referenced Philadelphia airtel, dated 6/8/70, set
forth information furnished by Philadelphia informants con-
cerning possible problems experienced by the Philadelphia
Chapter as a result of the first letter submitted under
captioned program. The following is a summary of informa-
tion received since that time from other sources which
would indicate that the first letter from _____ to Black
Panther Party National Headquarters had its desired effect:

- 2 - Bureau (100-448006) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)
- 2 - Philadelphia (157-2371) (RM)

TDD: [REDACTED]
(6)

REC-61

JUN 25 1970

RESEARCH SECTION
RACIAL INT. SECT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

56 JUL 8 1970

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

20 40

SAC, Savannah (157-629)

7/1/70

Director, FBI (100-448006)

1 - [REDACTED]

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL MATTERS

To date the Bureau is not in receipt of your quarterly letter concerning captioned program.

In the event it has not been furnished you should specifically comment on any counterintelligence operation you propose concerning [REDACTED]

JGD:rmm (4)

NOTE:

Savannah's quarterly counterintelligence letter was due June 1, 1970, and to date it has not been received at Bureau [REDACTED] who is assisting [REDACTED] of the BPP in Augusta, Georgia.

EX-117

REC 251

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
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Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAILED 4

JUL 1 1970

COMM-FBI

22 JUL 1 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

1178

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: June 30, 1970

FROM : SAC, MILWAUKEE (157-459) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

2-Bureau (100-448006) (Registered Mail)
2-Milwaukee (157-459)
JPG/cls
(4)

JUL 1 1970

REC-33

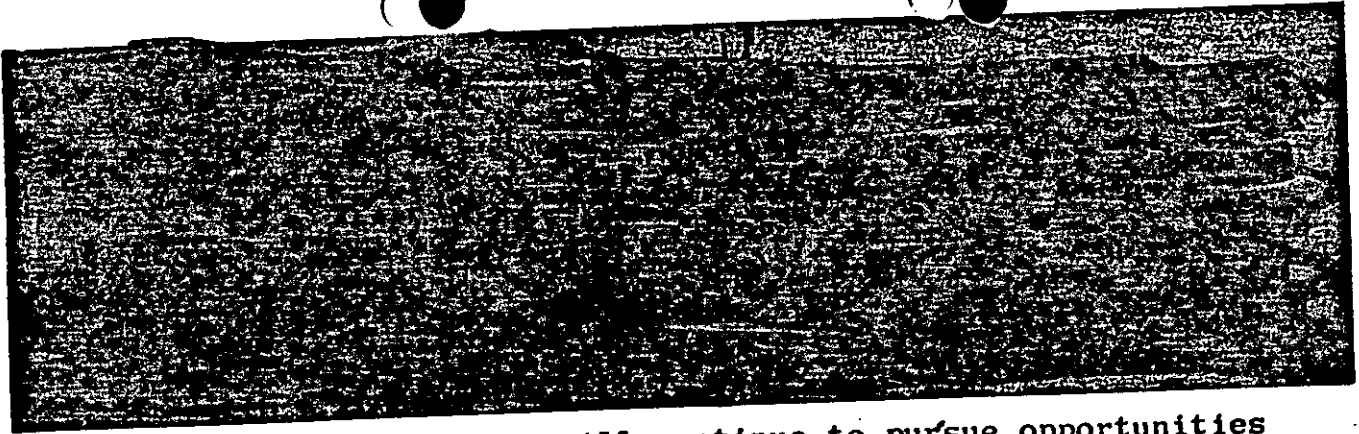
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



4 JUL 9 1970



Milwaukee will continue to pursue opportunities for effective counterintelligence measures as circumstances permit to further disrupt the reorganization attempts by the BPP in Milwaukee.

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

1 - [REDACTED]

6/29/70

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Airtel

To: SACs Detroit
Phoenix

From: Director, FBI

BLACK STUDENT ORGANIZATION
KALAMAZOO COLLEGE
KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN
RACIAL MATTER
(Bufile 157-14017)
(DEfile 157-4355)
(PXfile 157-754)

✓ COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS
(Bufile 100-448006)

ReDEairtel 6/17/70.

Phoenix is authorized, provided full security assured and cooperativeness and trustworthiness of [REDACTED] deemed sufficient to guarantee no embarrassment to the Bureau, to have the Black Student Organization order filled and the Kalamazoo College check cashed. In order to insure school officials are aware order is being sent Phoenix [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] When Phoenix is assured plan has been initiated, promptly advise Detroit so that arrangements can be completed for the interception of the material by the appropriate college official as indicated in referenced airtel.

GTT:mkz/bkr
(10)

NOTE:

Black Student Organization (BSO), an organization which has conducted extremist activities at Kalamazoo College, ordered \$60 worth of pamphlets concerning riots, explosive,

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE 2

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

51 JUL 6 1970

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-448006-11

DE 157-4355

Detroit proposes that the Bureau instruct Phoenix to cause the BSO order from Hacienda Adobe to be filled. Once this is accomplished and the KC check negotiated, [REDACTED] the college administration gain official access to the order upon its receipt at the college and expose the devious method by which the BSO obtained college funds and the misuse of such funds for purchase of extremist material.

The net effect of this plan will be to return BSO's direction to moderation and to expose and possibly eliminate from the organization by the college the militant person or persons who placed the order.

Detroit further feels that this plan can be carried out without mention of or embarrassment to the Bureau. [REDACTED] the Bureau's interest in this matter and [REDACTED] can be completely trusted not to divulge this information.

DE 157-4355

further advised that BSO co-chairmen for the spring 1970 quarter which ended 6/15/70, were [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] that KC Check #41096 was issued by [REDACTED] after a request was made on 6/10/70, by [REDACTED] a BSO member, for funds to defray cost of "books".

[REDACTED] that the BSO and other student organizations on campus are given a specific budget by KC and only have to submit a routine request for funds of small or incidental nature. [REDACTED]

Detroit believes instant situation presents an excellent opportunity to utilize a quick and simple Counterintelligence move directed against the BSO.

For the Bureau's information, [REDACTED]

the Bureau and the Director in high esteem and has always been most cooperative, willing and discreet. [REDACTED] can be trusted not to disclose the Bureau as the source of any information given [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] under no circumstances would the KC administration condone the use of college funds by a student organization to purchase the type of material ordered by the BSO. [REDACTED] further advised that during the past year the BSO has caused no problems on the campus and that the relations between the BSO and the administration have been very cordial and open. [REDACTED] believes that perhaps [REDACTED] or some other individual or faction within the BSO is attempting to move the organization in a militant direction.

6/17/70

AIRTEL

TO: Director, FBI

FROM: SAC, Detroit (157-4355)

BLACK STUDENT ORGANIZATION
KALAMAZOO COLLEGE,
KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN
RE - BNAT
(Bufile 157-14017)
(DEfile 157-4355)
(PHfile 157-754)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALISTS
(DEfile 157-3214)

Re Phoenix teletypes to Bureau and Detroit,
6/15 and 16/70, captioned "BLACK STUDENT ORGANIZATION,
KALAMAZOO STATE COLLEGE, KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN" and Detroit
teletype to Bureau, 6/16/70, under same caption.

[REDACTED] Kalamazoo
College (KC), Kalamazoo, Michigan

[REDACTED] advised that although Black Student Organization (BSO)
existed at KC during the 1969-70 school year, it was generally
inactive, engaged in no disruptive activity and caused no
problems on campus. It was composed of less than 20 black
students from a total college enrollment of 1,300. [REDACTED]

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Phoenix (RM)
- 3 - Detroit
 - (1 - 157-4355)
 - (1 - 157-3214)

JHB/cc
(7)

100-448006
NOT RECORDED
145 JUN 29 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

ORIGINAL FILED IN
157-14017-1

184

Airtel to Detroit
Re: Black Student Organization
Kalamazoo College,
Kalamazoo, Michigan
157-14017
Counterintelligence Program
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

devices guerrilla warfare etc from a concern in Arizona.
[REDACTED] Phoenix

[REDACTED] desires of the Bureau as to whether or not the order should be filled. Detroit has ascertained check sent to pay for order was issued by Kalamazoo College as part of this organization's fund furnished by student activity fees.

Detroit requested Bureau approve a counterintelligence plan whereby above order will be filled and sent to Kalamazoo College where a college official, [REDACTED] will intercept and expose the BSO for illegal use of authorized student activity fees.

Phoenix advised Bureau by teletype 6/25/70 counter-intelligence proposal [REDACTED] such material in national magazines and disclosure [REDACTED]

FBI

Date: 6/19/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109)




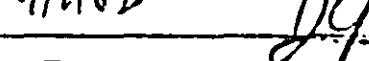
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Director's airtel to Charlotte, New Haven and New York dated 5/27/70; Charlotte airtels to the Director dated 6/5/70, and 6/17/70, and New York airtel to the Director dated 6/18/70, captioned "BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE DIVISION."

Enclosed for New York is one copy of Charlotte airtel to the Director dated 6/5/70; Charlotte airtel to the Director dated 6/17/70, and one copy of a flier entitled "News of Interest to the Black Citizens of Winston-Salem."

Enclosed for New Haven is one copy of Charlotte airtel to the Director dated 6/17/70, and one flier entitled "News of Interest to the Black Citizens of Winston-Salem."

Enclosed for San Francisco is one copy of a flier entitled "News of Interest to the Black Citizens of Winston-Salem," and one copy of New York airtel to the Director dated 6/18/70, captioned "BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE DIVISION."

- 3-Bureau (2-100-448006) (RM)
(1-105-165706 Sub 8)
- 2-New York (100-161140) (Encs. 3) (RM)
- 1-New Haven (Info) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 1-San Francisco (Info) (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 7-Charlotte (2-157-6109)
(1-157-6171)
(1-157-)
(1-157-)
(1-157-)
(1-157-6999-)

REC-82

JUN 24 1970

THG:cvs
(14)

100-448006-181

JUL 1 1970

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-165706-181

186

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6109

As noted in the enclosures, the newsletter is a counterintelligence operation in the Charlotte Division [REDACTED]

among BPP members.

For the information of New York, San Francisco and New Haven, it should be pointed out that the March 18, 1970, issue of the Black Panther Newspaper, page 13 contains an article captioned "To the People of North Carolina," which was derogatory toward [REDACTED] and his Southern Vanguard Revolutionary Party.

The Southern Vanguard Revolutionary Party is now defunct and [REDACTED] was last known to be in the area of Tampa, Fla.

In the event this newsletter comes to the attention of live informants in your division, it is requested that you refer your informants to the above mentioned page of the Black Panther Newspaper, a copy of which is being furnished all offices by San Francisco. This will assist in placing blame for the newsletter on the Southern Vanguard Revolutionary Party and cause additional disruption of the BPP. Additional suggestions along counterintelligence lines will be made as developments occur.

2

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

187

ROUTE ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
1 -
1 -

6/23/70

SAC, Chicago (157-2209)

Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

ReCGlot 6/15/70 captioned "Black Panther Party - RM."

Relot indicates a possible alignment between the Blackstone Rangers and the Black Panther Party (BPP).

As you are aware, both extremist organizations are violence prone. There is an ever present danger should this large Negro youth gang develop black nationalism and align themselves with the black extremist BPP. Previous attempts at an alignment between these two organizations have failed because of bickering and jealousy over control of the West side of Chicago.

Submit a counterintelligence proposal which can be implemented to insure that the two organizations do not align themselves for a common purpose. Your proposal should consider the possibility of capitalizing on the theory that the Blackstone Rangers do not really want alignment, but desire the actual take over of BPP operations in the Chicago area.

In view of the importance of any alignment between these two violence-prone organizations, this matter must be given prompt attention.

REC 4

CAF:amk
(6)

JUN 23 1970

NOTE:

The Blackstone Rangers is the largest of the Negro youth gangs in Chicago and operates on the South side. There are approximately 2,000 teenagers in this organization. A prior alignment between the two groups was attempted in December, 1968; however, this failed. Chicago being instructed to submit counterintelligence proposal in view of the ever present danger should these two violence-prone groups join.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

MAILED 23
JUN 23 1970

COMM-FBI

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DeLoach _____
Walters _____
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Casper _____
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Sullivan _____
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Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

07 JUL 1 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

188

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

June 26, 1970

Airtel

REC 90
1
1
1

To: SACs, New York (100-161140)
Atlanta (100-7182)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 1867

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE)

ReNYairtel 6/18/70.

The counterintelligence measures proposed in reairtel are approved.

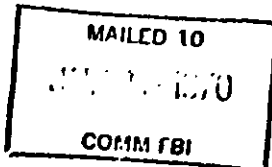
Atlanta is instructed to proceed per recommendations contained in reNYairtel. Insure correspondence utilized in this matter is prepared on stationery and that mailing procedures utilized are such that correspondence involved is not traceable to this Bureau.

Recipients promptly advise the Bureau of positive results obtained as a result of these counterintelligence actions.

PEN:ekv
(8)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
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Holmes _____
Gandy _____



97 JUN 30 1970

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

he

Jim

12

189

Airtel to SACs, New York
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
(STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE)
100-448006

NOTE:

The SNCC is a black extremist organization headquartered in New York City with active chapters in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Atlanta, Georgia. Prior information developed by New York indicates SNCC has placed a request for a grant of \$67,000 with the Episcopal Church Screening Board in New York City to finance its operations, one of which is a "Liberation school" in Atlanta, Georgia. Request for funds for the Atlanta operation are reportedly being processed through the Atlanta Episcopal Church organization in such a manner as to preclude the church's knowledge of the school's connection with SNCC. New York Office has recommended anonymous mailing from Atlanta of two letters allegedly from local businessmen engaged in the sale of school supplies protesting approach by [REDACTED] SNCC official, to place fictitious orders through them for the purpose of mutual self-profit. Copies of letters to be mailed at two-week intervals are attached. They are to be directed to the Episcopal Church Center in New York.

FBI

Date: 6/18/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
(STUDENT NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE)

ReBuairtel to NY, 6/8/70.

Enclosed herewith is one copy each of proposed counterintelligence letters.

In compliance with Bureau instructions, set forth in reairtel, the following proposal to neutralize attempts by SNCC to obtain funds from the Episcopal Church in New York is set forth.

It is proposed that the two enclosed letters be sent by the Atlanta Office to the Director, Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New York, New York. These letters should be mailed at least one week apart and prepared in the standard manner for counterintelligence correspondence. There should be some variance in the titles used in addressing these letters to the Episcopal Church Center. This will be left to the discretion of the Atlanta Office.

New York feels that the receipt of two letters by the Episcopal Church in New York, each of which alleges a similar fraudulent scheme directed against that church should have some affect on the proposed dispersal of Episcopal Church funds to SNCC in Atlanta.

No positive action on this proposal will be taken without prior Bureau approval.

2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
2 - Atlanta (Encls. 2) (RM)
1 - New York (#43)

JLL:1jm

(6)

REC-90
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Gentlemen:

May I take the liberty to relate to you at this time a strange turn of events which I recently participated in.

I am by occupation a salesman of school books and supplies in the Atlanta, Georgia area and most of my business dealings are with Negroes.

About one month ago I was approached by a [REDACTED] who claimed to represent the "Liberation School" at [REDACTED] made the following proposal to me:

He indicated that the aforementioned school was in its formative stages and that it would be necessary to equip and supply it with materials which could be furnished by my company.

[REDACTED] indicated that of course he expected some consideration for placing orders with me and I of course agreed to see that all consideration possible would be furnished to [REDACTED] and his school. Now "consideration" to me normally means giving the school official who places an order with me some extra books, equipment or a personal gift.

But in this case, [REDACTED] wished me to enter into what he described as a "good deal for all".

The plan [REDACTED] proposed to me was that I was to submit to him bills and purchase orders for equipment and supplies received or due without ever actually delivering or ordering such things!

[REDACTED] indicated that I stood to make at least \$2,000 on this "good deal".

As an honest, Christian, college educated Negro I was shocked when I heard this offer but I must admit I was tempted to explore this situation even further.

I asked [REDACTED] just who was going to pay for the make believe school supplies and he told me to rest easy as "Whitey was going to get stuck with the bill".

1817

192

I figured he meant the State of Georgia and I told him I did not want to end upon a chain gang in Valadosta.

[redacted] assured me that the "Whitey we were going to stick" was the Episcopal Church in New York City. [redacted] told me that the Episcopal Church in New York was giving money sight unseen to his "Liberation School" and that there would be "enough of the pile for everyone".

I thought this deal over for awhile and have decided that it is not the Christian thing to do to even think about such a thing. I am still in a state of shock over it.

I am afraid to reveal my identity to you because of the position I hold in my community as well as because I have been advised by a close confident that I may have participated in a criminal activity by even considering [redacted] scheme.

Let me tell you I have checked out [redacted] and I believe he will go forward with his plan.

I hope this information is timely so you may be able to protect yourself.

Gentlemen:

Recently an offer was made to me concerning a scheme which would appear to be of some interest to you. First let me say that I own a bookstore in Atlanta, am white and wish to remain anonymous.

[redacted] who identified himself as being [redacted] of the Rap Brown Liberation School, Atlanta, Ga. appeared at my shop recently and inquired as to whether I could supply certain pre-school primers on a volume basis for a liberation school to be operated by him and some associates and to be funded according to Smith by the Episcopal Church in New York City.

I told [redacted] during this initial contact that I could supply any books he needed. All he would have to do was provide the number and publisher. I did not place much interest in his inquiry since he did not impress me as being at all knowledgeable about school texts, procedures, etc. Frankly I thought he was some type of flim-flam man and was expecting him to ask to cash a check.

Approximately two weeks later he returned to the shop with another individual who did not identify himself. This other person said very little, but from his remarks she was apparently from New York. At one point he mentioned the Episcopal Church Center in New York City as the "funding agent" of [redacted]

After a few short remarks recalling our past conversation [redacted] proposed essentially the following proposition. If I could provide him with false receipts for book sales made to the liberation school he would kickback to me 50% of their face value. He explained that he could then charge the liberation school the full face value of such receipts. I told him that I wanted no part of this scheme whereupon they both politely left the office without further conversation.

[redacted] had intimated that he had a contact the Episcopal Church New York [redacted] through who he could obtain funds. To be truthful, however, [redacted] did not infer that [redacted] was in any way knowledgeable of what was going on, however, he did imply that [redacted] would furnish the funds without any problem.

151 194

I don't know whether [redacted] the Liberation School or [redacted] are even known to you. [redacted] appeared to be such an operator that I don't even know whether he was serious about the scheme.

In any event I am taking the time to write this note for your information.

ROUTED ENVELOPE

6/25/70

Airtel

EX-110

- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Los Angeles (157-4054)

From: Director, FBI (157-448006) *157-448006-1868*

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re LAairtel 6/17/70.

You are authorized to prepare a letter as set forth in relet and mail to Army Archerd, the Hollywood "gossip" columnist. Insure that mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau.

CAF:amk
(8)

NOTE:

Los Angeles proposed that a letter from a fictitious person be sent to Hollywood "gossip" columnist of the "Daily Variety" in connection with his column on 6/11/70 indicating Jane Fonda, noted film actress, would attend a Black Panther Party fund raising function on 6/13/70. The proposed letter states the writer attended the function and was searched upon entering, urged to contribute funds for jailed Panther leaders and to buy guns for "the coming revolution." Also, that Jane and one of the Panthers led a refrain "We will kill Richard Nixon, and any other M..... F..... who stands in our way." It can be expected that Fonda's involvement with the BPP cause could detract from her status with the general public if reported in a Hollywood "gossip" column.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Walters _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

58 JUL 1 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAILED 25

JUN 25 1970

COMM-FBI

796

F B I

Date: 6/17/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4054) (P)

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re Los Angeles teletype to Bureau, 6/15/70,
entitled "COMMITTEE UNITED FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS (CUPP),
IS-MISCELLANEOUS, THREAT AGAINST PRESIDENT NIXON".

Bureau authority is requested in sending the following letter from a fictitious person to ARMY ARCHERD, Hollywood "gossip" columnist for the "Daily Variety", who noted in his 6/11/70 column that JANE FONDA, noted film actress, was to be present at the 6/13/70 Black Panther Party fund raising function sponsored by CUPP in Los Angeles. It is felt that knowledge of FONDA's involvement would cause her embarrassment and detract from her status with the general public.

"Dear Army,

I saw your article about Jane Fonda in 'Daily Variety' last Thursday and happened to be present for Vadim's 'Joan of Arc's' performance for the Black Panthers Saturday night. I hadn't been confronted with this Panther phenomena before but we were searched upon entering Embassy Auditorium, encouraged in revival-like fashion to contribute to defend jailed Panther leaders and buy guns for 'the coming revolution', and led by Jane and one of

- ② - Bureau (RM)
2 - San Francisco (RM)
2 - Los Angeles
RWH:DJR/gew

(6)

REC 16

JUN 19 1970

EX-110

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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OTHERWISE.

RESEARCH SECTION
RACIAL INT. SECT.

L 157-4054

the Panther chaps in a 'we will kill Richard Nixon, and any other M-----F----- who stands in our way' refrain (which was shocking to say the least!). I think Jane has gotten in over her head as the whole atmosphere had the 1930's Munich beer-hall aura.

"I also think my curiosity about the Panthers has been satisfied.

"Regards

/s/ "Morris"

If approved, appropriate precautions will be taken to preclude the identity of the Bureau as the source of this operation.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
ATTENTION: SA GEORGE MOORE

DATE: 6/24/70

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (100-29488) (P)

SUBJECT: RACIAL MATTERS COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE
PROGRAM, BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE (VISUAL AIDS)

Re Seattle letter to Bureau, 4/24/70.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are six (6) 8"x10" glossy photographs depicting scenes from the demonstration against the United States Federal Court House Building, Seattle, Washington, on February 17, 1970 (see Seattle LHM entitled "DESURP" dated 2/25/70).

The photographs were not furnished earlier as they have been exhibited to various law enforcement agencies for aid in identifying all participants.

The photographs were taken by [REDACTED] of the Seattle Office on February 17, 1970.

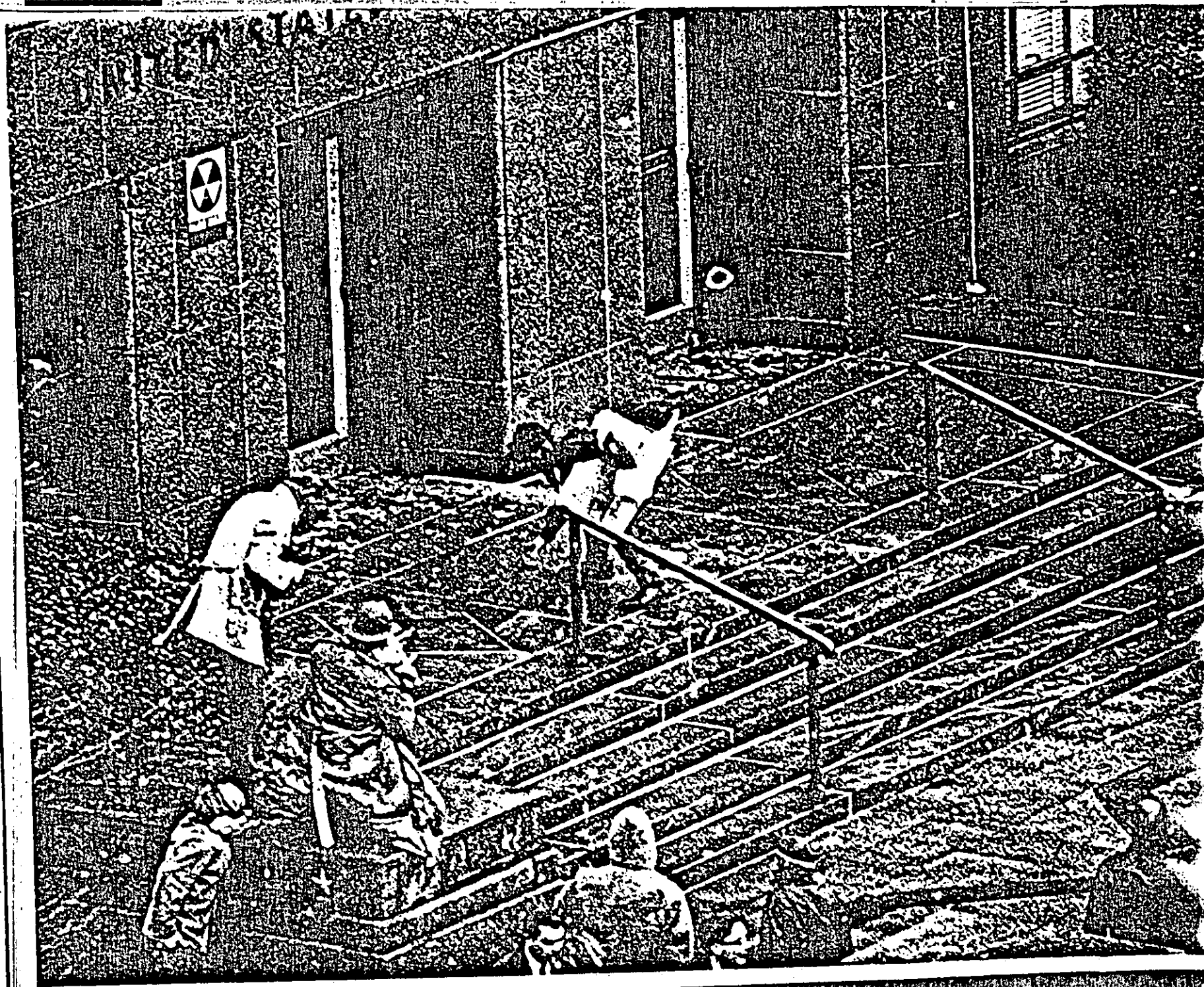
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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OTHERWISE.

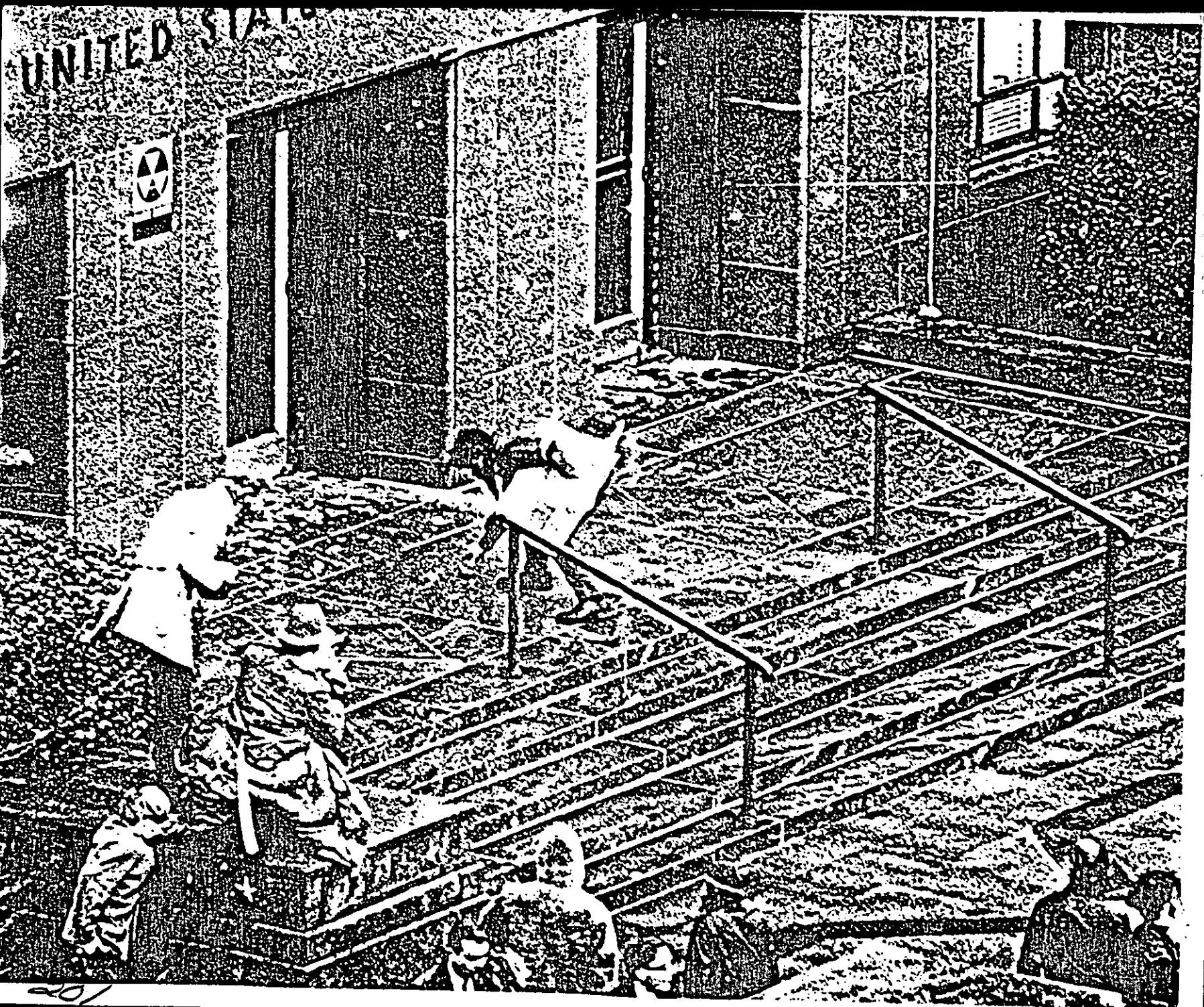
3 - Bureau (Enc. 6) (RM)
2 - Seattle
CRS/djs
(5)

JUN 26 1970

100-442006-1867

199



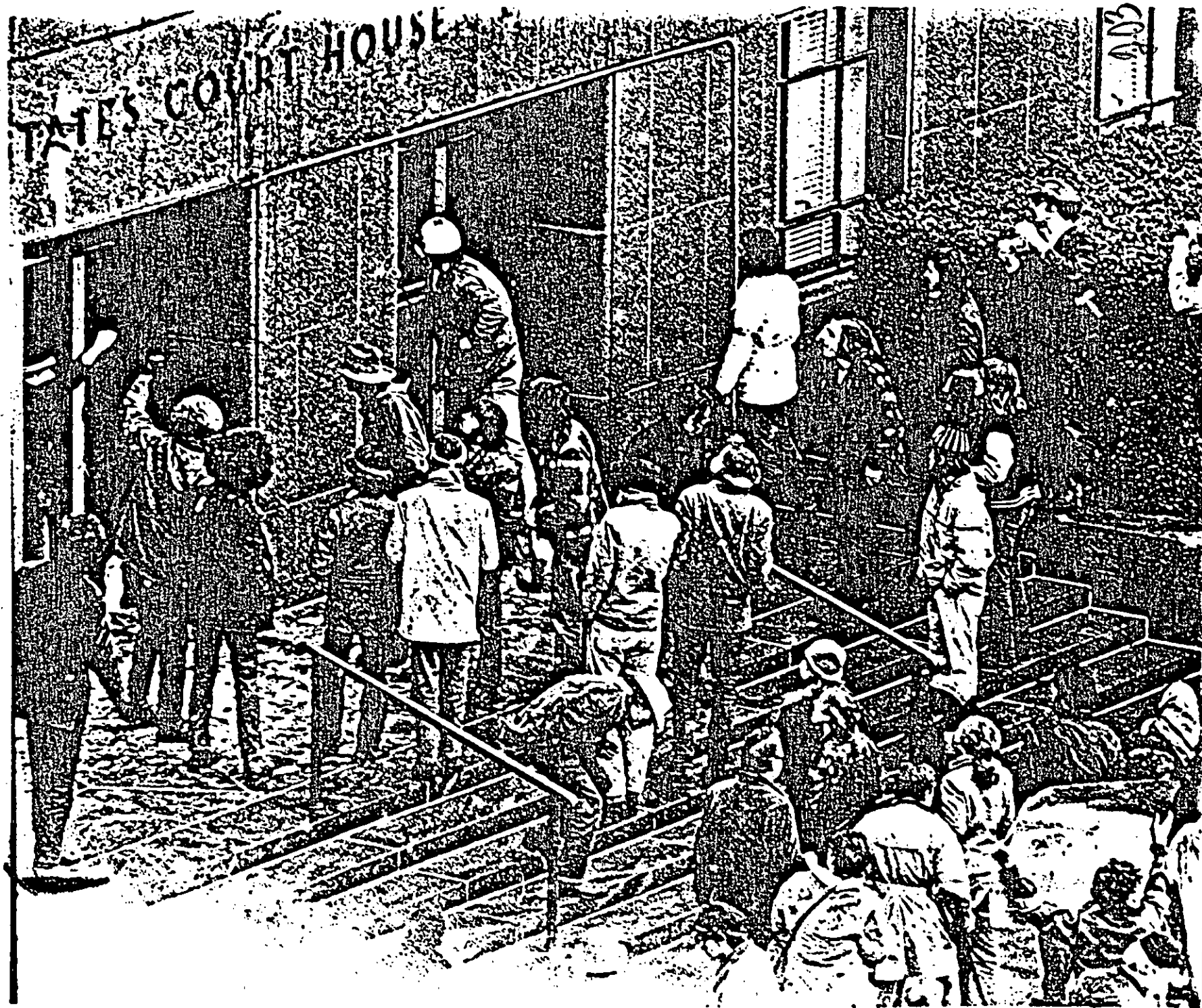


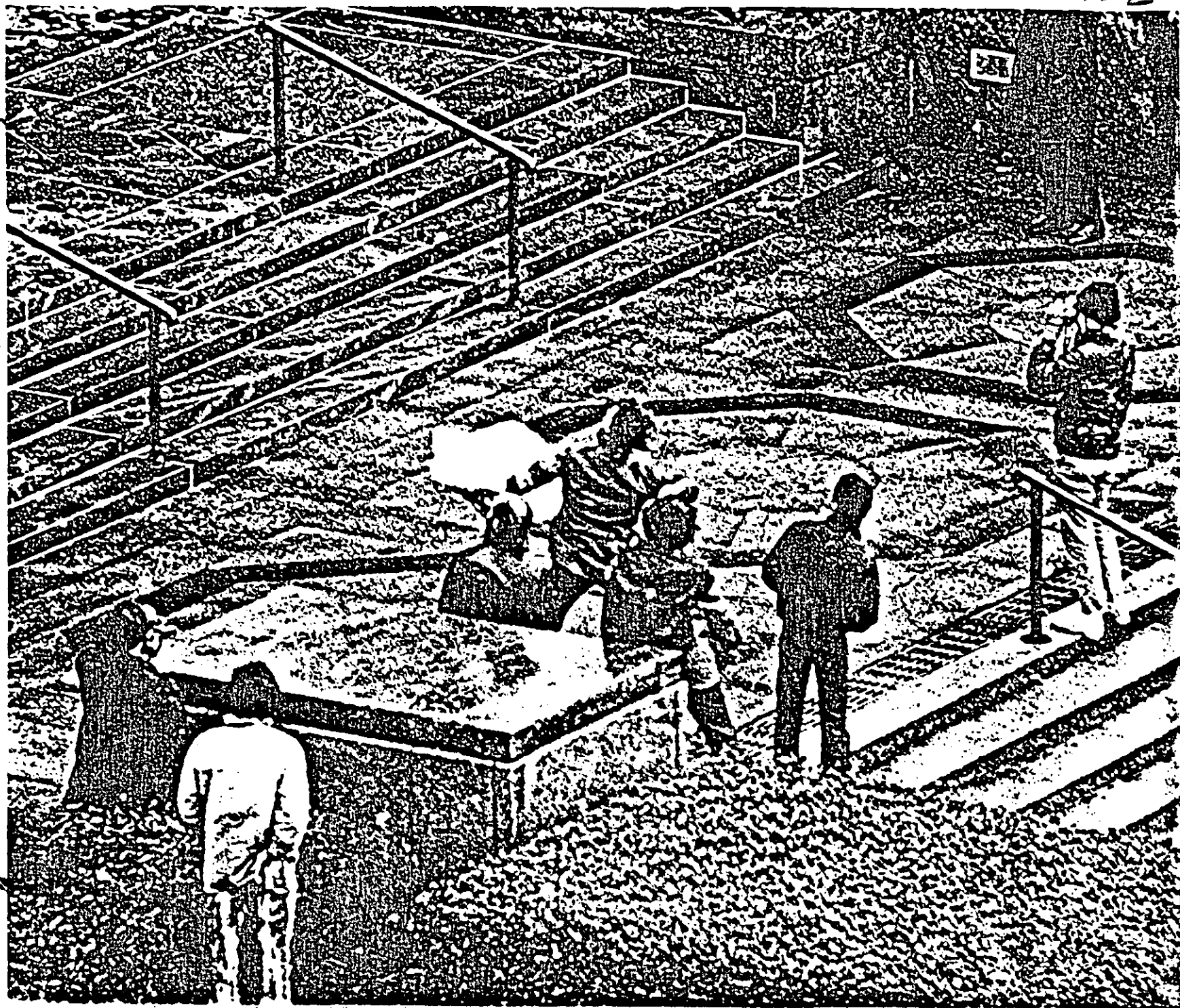
201

UNITED STATES COURT HOUSE



200





6-24-70

CODE

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO SAC PHOENIX

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

BLACK STUDENT ORGANIZATION (BSO), KALAMAZOO COLLEGE,
KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN, RACIAL MATTERS; AND COUNTERINTELLIGENCE
PROGRAM, BLACK NATIONALISTS.

REDEAIRTEL JUNE SEVENTEEN LAST.

ASCERTAIN IF EXPOSURE OF BSO ORDER OF INFLAMMATORY MATERIAL
BY KALAMAZOO COLLEGE OFFICIALS WOULD ADVERSELY AFFECT
OR HIS CONCERN. SUTEL RESULTS.

GTT:plm (5)

NOTE: BSO, an organization which has been involved in black
extremist activities on Kalamazoo College campus ordered \$60
worth of pamphlets concerning riots, explosive devices, guerrilla
warfare, etc. from a source in Detroit.

Detroit ascertain check sent to pay for order was issued by
Kalamazoo College as a part of BSO's fund furnished by student
activity fees.

Detroit requested Bureau approve counterintelligence plan
whereby above order would be filled and sent to Kalamazoo College

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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OTHERWISE.

NOT RECORDED
199 JUN 29 1970

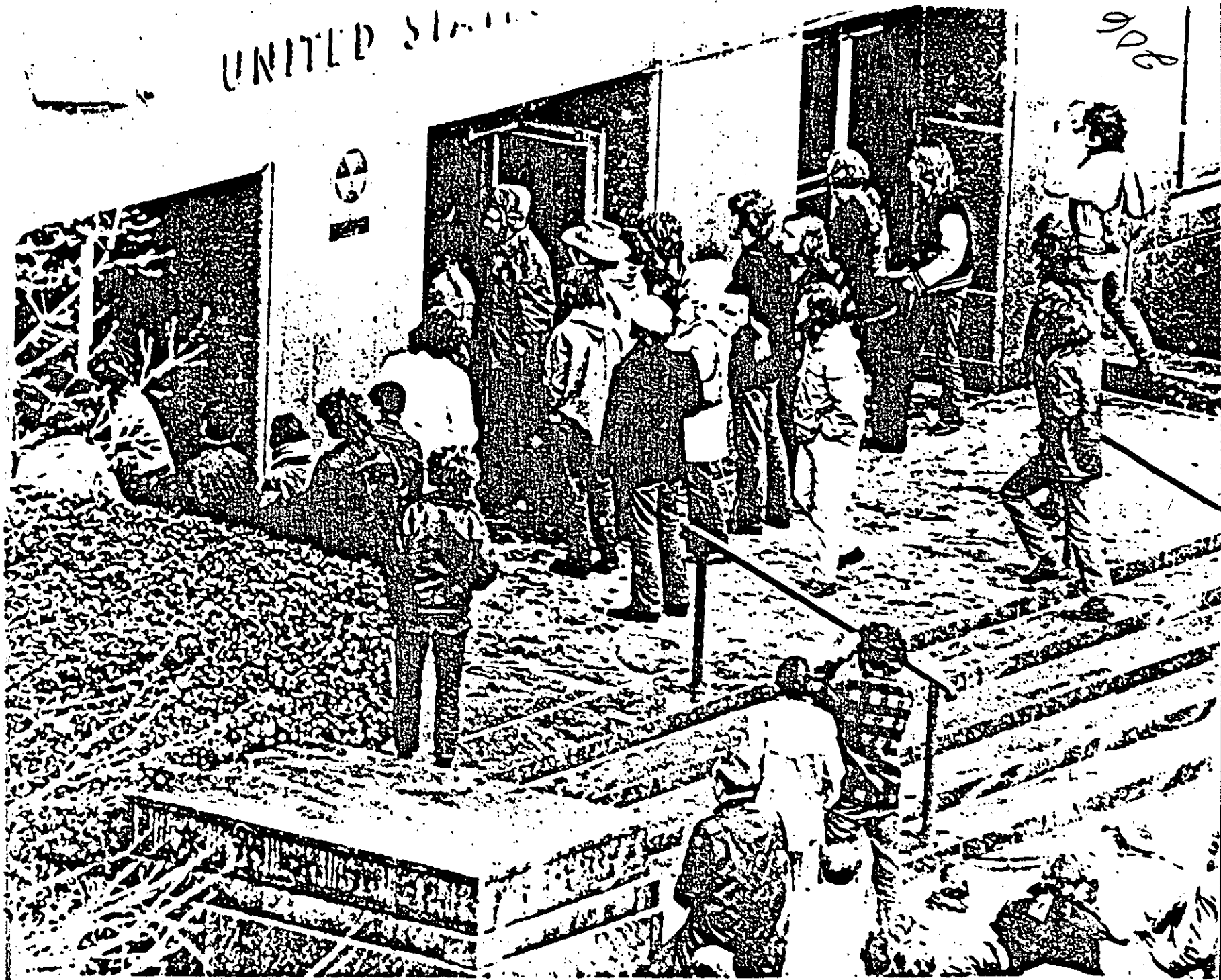
DUPLICATE YELLOW OF
WIRE TRANSMITTED

54 JUL 1 1970

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-14017-9

205

UNITED STATES



ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Columbia (100-324)

7/8/70

EX-117 REC-121
Director, FBI (100-448006)

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Reurlet 6/23/70.

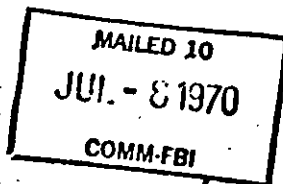
You are not authorized to contact appropriate building inspectors to insure new mosque of Nation of Islam is being constructed according to codes of Columbia, South Carolina.

In the event you receive information from informants or other sources disclosing failure to comply with building codes, you may furnish such information to appropriate authorities.

HEH:fld *fld*
(4)

NOTE:

NOI is building a new mosque at Columbia, South Carolina. Columbia has requested authority to contact appropriate building inspectors to insure mosque being constructed according to building codes. Such a contact with another agency would disclose our interest in harassing the NOI group and would not be advisable. If information is received at a later date to indicate a possible violation of local ordinances, we would be justified in furnishing the information to appropriate authorities.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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OTHERWISE.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson _____
Loach _____
Walters _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Handwritten signatures and initials:
- *JP*
- *HEH*
- *Gen [unclear]*
- *207*
- *100-448006-207*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 6/23/70

FROM : SAC, COLUMBIA (100-324) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Re Columbia letter to the Director, 5/28/70.

As indicated in referenced communication, in prior communications regarding captioned matter the Nation of Islam (NOI) Mosque number 38 is building a new mosque which is scheduled for opening in September, 1970. The new mosque is located at the corner of Surrey Street and Colonial Drive in Columbia, S. C., which is a predominantly Negro residential area and on the edge of a Negro community with new homes ranging from \$25,000 and up. As indicated in the referenced communication, Columbia stated they would request permission from the Bureau to contact appropriate building code inspectors to insure that all codes are being complied with by the contractors who are for the most part members of the NOI here in Columbia.

Since this building is progressing more rapidly at the present time and will be opened in September, 1970, Bureau authority is being requested at this time for Columbia to contact appropriate building inspectors to insure that this new mosque is being constructed according to all codes of Columbia, S. C.

②-Bureau (RM)
2-Columbia

FHA:plw
(4)

EX 106

REC-12
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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OTHERWISE.

JUN 25 1970

RESEARCH SECTION
RACIAL INT. SEC.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



5010-108

See to Columbia 7/8/70
HCL:plw

W

[Handwritten signature]

100-448006-186

208